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The  
**American Historical Review**

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MANUFACTURERS ON SOME  
OF THE EARLY POLICIES OF WILLIAM PITT

THE growing power of the great industrialists of the modern type since the eighteenth-century transformation of technique is a phenomenon familiar to all students of economic history; but in regard to the earlier stages of the emergence of group consciousness and group action there is need of further elaboration. As early as 1785, the manufacturers of cottons, iron, ironwares, and pottery united, for purposes of influencing public policy, with various groups of older petty manufacturers and formed the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain. The decisive factor in bringing about this organization was a community of interest growing out of hostility to the excise and Irish policies of the government of William Pitt. The manufacturers not only found thus a basis for united action, but utilized their organization successfully for the defeat of the policies in question. The first triumph of union was the repeal of the cotton tax of 1784.

The growing importance and influence of the cotton manufacturers had indeed been recognized earlier. When Arkwright and his associates established the cotton industry on a mechanical basis and began by the use of machine-made yarn to manufacture cloth made wholly of cotton, they found legal barriers which threatened to form an insurmountable obstacle. The purpose of the laws had been to encourage the use of woollens and linens, though fustians, provided their weft only was made of cotton, might be used.<sup>1</sup> In 1774, "Richard Arkwright and Company, of Nottingham, spinners of cotton stuffs", petitioned Parliament for relief. The petitioners based their claims on the value of their new methods and the extent of their enterprises, and succeeded in convincing Parliament of the need of legal redress. The House of Commons passed resolutions approving the new industry and declaring that the prohibitions ought

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of earlier tax laws affecting the cotton industry, see Stephen Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, IV. 343-346.

to be removed. Soon thereafter a measure was enacted which declared that it was lawful for Englishmen to wear or use goods made wholly of cotton, and which reduced the tax on goods mixed with cotton from 6 *d.* to 3 *d.* per yard.<sup>2</sup>

But this law, under which the industry developed with unparalleled rapidity, was modified in 1784 in a way which, according to the manufacturers, threatened them with ruin. The new law (24 Geo. III., c. 40) was part of a comprehensive and on the whole successful fiscal policy by which Pitt reorganized the finances and enabled the government to bear the burdens of the war debt. In addition to the duty of 3 *d.* per yard provided for by the act of 1774, there was imposed, on dyed stuffs of cotton and linen mixed or of cotton, a duty of 1 *d.* per yard if the value of the cloth was less than 3 *s.* per yard; and a duty of 2 *d.* per yard if the value of the cloth was 3 *s.* or more per yard. An additional duty of 15 per cent. was charged on both the old duty and the new. Bleachers and dyers were required to purchase licenses.

More objectionable to the manufacturers than the amount of the tax was the method of collection. The duties were to be collected by commissioners of excise. Manufacturers were required, under heavy penalties, to give detailed information concerning their utensils and methods; excisemen might enter a plant at any time, day or night, to secure information, and any obstruction offered subjected the manufacturer to a fine of £200. There was an elaborate system of marking the cloth at different stages of manufacture, and many of these regulations failed to take into account the technical changes then being introduced. Counterfeiting of the exciseman's stamps was punishable by death; and the seller of goods marked in counterfeit incurred the double penalty of a fine of £100 and two hours in the pillory. Arrears of duty might be collected by confiscation of tools and machinery. In the thirty-seven sections of the law, various other regulations and penalties were prescribed.

The administrative features of the law, although minute and inquisitorial, were in reality not radically different from those of earlier excise laws. It is this fact which gives special significance to the storm of hostility which was aroused by attempts to put the law into operation. Most of the petitions, resolutions, and statements issued by the manufacturers centre their attacks not on the amount of the excise but on the methods of collection. In a petition presented to the House of Commons on March 16, 1785, the petitioners

<sup>2</sup> 14 Geo. III., c. 72; *Commons Journals*, XXXIV. 435, 436, 496, 497, 498, 709, 805; Dowell, *History of Taxation*, IV. 345, 346.



boast that although they "have never received or solicited any parliamentary aid", nevertheless they "have always been, and still are, ready on all occasions to contribute to the general exigencies of the state". They object to the extent of the tax, but mainly to "what is still worse", the fact that their "liberty and property" are "fettered and embarrassed". Resolutions adopted by the "principal manufacturers" of Manchester on April 11, 1785, declared that of all methods of taxation, "those under the excise laws are most obnoxious"; that the cotton tax in particular "operates more vexatiously and produces more evils than any heretofore enacted". The reasons for the peculiar evils of the cotton excise, it was stated, are "the complex nature of that manufacture" and "the amazing number of excise officers necessary to enforce" the law. It is declared that "such an influx of those gentry [the excisemen] to disturb the harmony and arrangements of their manufacture, to deprive them of personal liberty and the free exercise of their property, is unwise, impolitic and unjust".<sup>3</sup> Nor did the government, in attempting to utilize such methods, take into account the fact that many of the manufacturers, in wealth and influence, were far superior, even as early as 1784, to those of earlier generations. The government of William Pitt, like political governments generally, responded slowly to economic changes, and the old system of excise, once looked upon as a natural and unavoidable part of fiscal policy and public control, was now considered by the principal manufacturers to be so meddlesome and mischievous as to be intolerable. Nor were they slow to inform the government as to their sentiments.

The new excise (commonly called the fustian tax because it applied mainly to the various fabrics known as fustians<sup>4</sup>) aroused the united opposition of the cotton interests, led by the fustian manufacturers of the Manchester region, who appointed a special committee to go to London for the purpose of conducting negotiations with the government. An appeal for funds in August of 1784 soon resulted in 350 subscriptions in support of the committee's work. The dyers and bleachers voted to shut down their plants till Parliament should grant relief, but this threat of "direct action" (to bor-

<sup>3</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 362; *Commons Journals*, XL. 642, 760; *Manchester Mercury*, Apr. 12, 1785; *London Gazetteer*, Apr. 15, 1785; Wright, *Address to Parliament on the Late Tax Laid on Fustian and Other Cotton Goods*.

<sup>4</sup> The term fustian became so comprehensive as to include a large variety of fabrics. See Board of Trade Papers, 6: 112, two documents endorsed "Dyed fustians R/30th May 1786 from Mr. Hilton" and "White fustians R/30th May 1786 from Mr. Hilton", the former containing samples of 24 types, including velvets, denims, satinettes, etc., and the latter containing samples of 23 types, in plain and figured weaves, including muslinettes, satteens, etc.

row from more modern terminology) was vigorously opposed by the fustian manufacturers, who favored "constitutional" methods in place of what they termed attempts to inflame the public mind and who began to erect dyeing plants of their own. At Glasgow similar opposition developed, subscriptions were raised, and decision was made "to join the powerful opposition at present forming in Lancashire and elsewhere". Nor was the movement confined to the cotton men. Others, taking alarm and professing to fear an extension of excises, joined the forces of opposition. The iron founders and manufacturers of the counties of Salop, Worcester, Stafford, and Warwick, at their quarterly meeting at Stourbridge, January 7, 1785, passed vigorous resolutions condemning the government's policy. The Birmingham Commercial Committee took similar action, and directed its committee of correspondence to seek the co-operation of other manufacturers.<sup>5</sup>

The Manchester committee for securing the repeal of the cotton tax consisted of four manufacturers, including Thomas Walker, a local Whig leader. At London, in January, 1785, Walker and one of his associates were brought before the Committee on Trade and Plantations and questioned concerning Irish relations, in an effort to secure from them, without their having knowledge of the object of the questioning, statements which would commit them to the policy soon to be presented to the public in the form of the Irish Resolutions. The statements made by the manufacturers on this occasion, which they understood was concerned with the cotton tax, were used by the government in an attempt to discredit them with evidence of inconsistency and self-seeking as well as to commit them unknowingly to the principles of its Irish policy. Walker and his associate were later repeatedly confronted with quotations from their statements, and cross-examined, and treated in a manner which was characterized by a member of Parliament as "most scandalous". While the government, blind to the newly rising economic power of the manufacturers, was needlessly embittering them by its humiliating condescension and its inconsiderate treatment of their delegates in connection with fiscal policy, it opened the way for a still more extensive opposition by the publication of the terms of its Irish policy. The manufacturers were virtually forced to associate the government's fiscal policy at home with its commercial policy toward

<sup>5</sup> The principal source of information concerning early organized opposition to the excise policy is the *Manchester Mercury*, particularly the issues of July 27, Aug. 10, 31, Sept. 7, 21, 28, Oct. 12, Nov. 2, 9, 1784, and Feb. 15, 1785. See also J. A. Langford, *Century of Birmingham Life*, I. 320-322, and *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 365, 366.

Ireland; and they were provided with at least the appearance of justification for the utilization of the influence of the whole body of manufacturers against both policies. In consequence, the two policies were closely associated in the minds of the manufacturers, and the whole force of industrial influence was directed against both.<sup>6</sup>

The Irish question, ever a thorn in the side, was rendered acutely piercing in the case of Pitt's early government by pressure from Ireland, which, unused to triumphs, was seeking to take full advantage of the new relations brought about as a result of the American Revolution. In England, on the other hand, chagrin at recent concessions, hostility to further yielding, and partizan eagerness to take advantage of Pitt's difficulties, all combined to create a situation favorable to the manufacturers for an effective combination against the government's policy. The opposition in England gained further strength from the fact that Pitt allowed the resolutions to originate in the Irish Parliament.

The resolutions, which came from the Irish Parliament for consideration in the English House of Commons in February, 1785, embodied a comprehensive system of commercial relations.

Commodities produced abroad, that is, in neither of the two kingdoms, might be imported, according to the second resolution, from either kingdom into the other on a reciprocal basis, at the same duties as when imported direct. Ireland was thus to be allowed to take part in colonial and foreign trade, under serious if not fatal handicaps of a practical kind to be sure, but theoretically on a basis of virtual equality. This provision was regarded by Pitt as one of the two "capital points" of the resolutions.

The other "capital point", in Pitt's estimation, concerned tariffs on manufactures of the two kingdoms. This was contained in Resolutions 3 to 6, which concerned not only manufactured goods but commodities in general produced in either of the two kingdoms. No new prohibitions were to be imposed in either kingdom against the importation, use, or sale of the commodities of the other kingdom. Import duties were to be the same, except that either kingdom might levy an additional import duty on articles of the other kingdom in

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the relations of the government to the representatives of the Manchester manufacturers, see *Minutes of the Evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons* (on Irish Resolutions, 1785), pp. 6, 47, 53-64, 70-90; *Minutes of the Evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Lords* (on Irish Resolutions, 1785), pp. 185-190; *Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council relating to Trade and Plantations* (on Irish Resolutions, 1785), pp. 53-61; *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 837.

order to countervail internal duties on its own similar articles. The English government, for instance, might levy an import duty on Irish cottons such as would counterbalance the excise on English cottons. The duties were not only to be equal; they were to be reduced to the rate in that kingdom where existing duties were the lower. Goods thus imported might be exported at the rate of duty at which the importing country allowed its own similar products to be exported. No new or additional duties were to be laid in either kingdom except to balance duties on internal consumption.

But there were various exceptions to the provisions for reciprocal trade in the products of the two kingdoms. These exceptions were in the main in favor of the landed classes and the older types of manufacturers, in sharp contrast with the policy adopted toward the newer manufacturers who were rapidly developing the cotton, iron, and pottery industries. Thus either country might limit the export of corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and various restrictions and prohibitions already existing, as the laws against the export of English wool, fuller's earth, and various other materials, were to be retained.

The eighth resolution dealt with bounties. No bounty was to be paid in either kingdom except in connection with corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits—an exception obviously in favor of the landed interests. It was further provided, in order to protect the English commercial classes, that no bounties were to be paid in Ireland on the re-exportation of colonial goods imported into Ireland, or on articles manufactured from such goods, unless similar bounties were paid in Britain.

The linen manufacture, which England had allowed to grow up in Ireland, was recognized particularly in the ninth resolution. This resolution was formulated in general terms and it therefore applied, theoretically at least, to articles other than linen; but its significance at that time was primarily in application to linen. The resolution provided that importations from foreign states were to be "regulated from time to time in each kingdom on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles the growth, product or manufacture of the other". This provision aroused the hostility of the English manufacturers partly because of their unreasonable prejudices against encouraging Irish manufactures; but, particularly in the case of the rapidly expanding cotton, iron, and pottery industries, the opposition, as will presently be pointed out, was not entirely irrational or illiberal.



Finally, it was provided, in the eleventh resolution, that Ireland was to contribute a portion of the hereditary crown revenue, in case of a surplus, to aid in maintaining the imperial navy. The revenue in question consisted of customs, hearth taxes, and excises. These had been insufficient for meeting the administrative expenses of the government in Ireland, but Pitt expressed the belief that increasing prosperity would convert the deficit into a surplus.<sup>7</sup>

Pitt's Irish policy as embodied in these resolutions has commonly been described as a liberal and far-sighted attempt to solve the Irish problem; and the opposition to the policy has been looked upon as merely an outburst of prejudice, animosity, and partizanship, wholly unjustified, and explicable only on the ground that Irish relations then, as in so many other instances, were fashioned in the heat of bias and passion. That such influences were at work, and that they were factors in causing the failure of the policy, is undoubtedly true. It is important, however, to recognize the limitations of Pitt's policy and to understand the point of view of its opponents among the manufacturers as set forth by themselves. Such a study, while by no means exonerating the manufacturers connected with cotton, iron, and pottery, who organized the opposition, from the charge of passion and prejudice, nevertheless reveals the less idealistic aspects of Pitt's policy and at the same time sets forth the opposition of the manufacturers in a less unfavorable light.

The general character of Pitt's relations to Ireland is illustrated significantly by the dealings of his agents with the Irish Parliament. His principal agents were the Duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant, and Thomas Orde (later Lord Bolton), the lord lieutenant's chief secretary. The Irish Parliament was not representative of even the small Protestant minority. The bishops and lay lords of the upper house were for the most part subservient to the crown. Even the extremely limited electorate was responsible for the choice of only a small minority of the House of Commons. The attitude of Rutland

<sup>7</sup> The text of the resolutions as they passed the Irish Parliament is in *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 312-314; that of the revised resolutions, *ibid.*, pp. 934-942. The resolutions will be found debated, explained, and interpreted in the same volume; in *Report of the Commissioners of Excise, 1785*, to the House of Commons; in *Report of the Commissioners for His Majesty's Customs*; and in *Correspondence between Pitt and the Duke of Rutland* (1890 ed.), particularly Pitt's letter of Jan. 6, 1785, pp. 55-75. See also *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of C.*, and *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of L.*, on the subject of Irish relations, both in the year 1785. General accounts, such as Rose's *William Pitt and National Revival*, ch. XI., and MacNeill's *Constitutional and Parliamentary History of Ireland till the Union*, ch. XVII., are unsatisfactory in respect to the relations of the manufacturers to Pitt's policy.

toward parliamentary reform is indicated by his statement in a letter to Pitt that "though it must be confessed it does not bear the smallest *resemblance to representation*, I do not see how quiet and good government could exist under any more popular mode". Pitt himself, in writing to Rutland, favored "a *prudent and temperate reform of Parliament*" in Ireland, that is to say, a reform which would "show a sufficient regard to the interests and even prejudices of individuals who are concerned", and "unite the Protestant interest in *excluding the Catholics from any share in the representation* or the government of the country". This he favored on condition that a fitting occasion should arise for presenting and carrying through such a bill, but he yielded to the pressure against even this measure of "reform". Orde kept a pocket-book list of the members of Parliament, with a statement as to the most effective means of influencing each. In his "Abstract Divisional View of the House of Commons of Ireland", he classified the members on the basis of methods by which their votes might be controlled. Another of Orde's documents was endorsed, "A Curious Paper Showing the Price of Every Irish M.P." In the correspondence of the time, constant allusions are made to such matters, and we see the culmination of Pitt's policy (though the policy was of course not peculiar to his administration) in the notorious events connected with the passage of the Act of Union by the Irish Parliament.<sup>8</sup>

A significant liberalization of English policy had already been put into effect immediately preceding Pitt's administration, but this had been brought about not so much through the influence of the Irish Parliament as of the Irish Volunteers. In his notable speech of February 22, 1785, on the occasion of the introduction of the Irish Resolutions, Pitt himself recognized the work of his predecessors. "The system had been", he said, "that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and use of her own resources; to make the kingdom completely subservient to the interests and opulence of this country, without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire." This system, "cruel and abominable", "harsh and unjust", "as impolitic as it was unjust", had already "been exploded". During the past seven years, "the system had been completely reversed". But traffic between the two countries continued, he said, on substantially the old basis, and Ireland was threatening retaliatory measures against English goods, and little now remained to be done save to give permanent form to

<sup>8</sup> Pitt-Rutland Corr., pp. 17, 44, 45, and *passim*; Ashbourne, Pitt, pp. 111, 112.

some of the concessions already made and to regulate inter-insular traffic on a more liberal basis.<sup>9</sup>

The bitterness of the hostility displayed by the industrialists was due in part only to the nature of Pitt's policy; it was aggravated by Pitt's inconsiderate treatment of them in the early stages of the discussion. The General Chamber of Manufacturers appointed a committee to deal with Irish policy, and this committee announced in the press on March 12 that since the ministers were pledged to the passage of the resolutions without alteration, the manufacturers were forced to oppose the whole of the government's Irish policy. This led to a controversy in which Pitt and his secretary, Dr. Prettyman, attempted to discredit the manufacturers, to humiliate them in the matter of granting conferences, and to belittle their opposition. The importance of these incidents was increased by the similar treatment accorded the Manchester committee on excise.<sup>10</sup> In order to avert the necessity of another conflict in the Irish Parliament, Pitt was extremely desirous of securing the passage of the resolutions without change; but his policy of needlessly antagonizing the manufacturers and ridiculing them, based as it was upon a failure to recognize their united power of resistance, tended in the end to strengthen the union of the industrialists against him.<sup>11</sup>

Before setting forth the reasons assigned by Wedgwood the potter (who took a leading part in the opposition) and the Manchester and Birmingham manufacturers to justify their opposition, it is of interest to note their views concerning alternative plans for adjusting Irish relations. A Manchester petition to the House of Lords asserted that "a complete union in commerce, policy and legislation is the most probable means of establishing a lasting harmony and good will between the two nations". Whatever may be said concerning the practicability of such a plan in the face of Ireland's nationalistic tendencies, it nevertheless would have involved a radical departure—much more radical, indeed, than was proposed by Pitt—from England's traditional policy of monopoly and discrimination. Manufacturers of pottery and ironware also expressed relatively liberal views, even to the extent of proposing the admission of all products of either country into the other duty free.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 314 ff.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 658.

<sup>11</sup> *Gazetteer*, Mar. 14, 16, 17, 18, 1785.

<sup>12</sup> *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of L.*, pp. 177, 178; *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of C.*, p. 179; *Rept. of the Lords of the Com. of Council*, p. 81; *Lords Journals*, XXXVII. 312; *Commons Journals*, XL. 647, 749, 750; *Manchester Mercury*, May 24, 1785 (resolutions of General Chamber of Manufacturers).

There is further evidence that the attitude of these groups of manufacturers, as distinguished from the older, petty manufacturers, was not dictated wholly by illiberal sentiments. They not only agreed to a policy of virtual free trade between England and Ireland; they opposed the preferential treatment of Irish products, particularly linens, on the ground that such a policy would prevent the extension of commercial reciprocity. Instances were cited of the experiences of British manufacturers in dealing with Germany and Russia, in particular, to prove that discrimination against their linens in favor of Irish linens would prevent the development of trade with those countries. It was mainly on this ground that they desired the omission of the preferential clause in the resolutions. A policy of reciprocal commercial treaties, suggested in this connection, was later adopted by Pitt and worked out in conference with the manufacturers in formulating the terms of the treaty of 1786 with France.<sup>13</sup>

It is to be seen, therefore, that the manufacturers who opposed the preferential clause were more nearly in accord with the later trend of commercial liberalism than was Pitt himself, so far as this particular clause was concerned. The resolutions were illiberal in other respects which, while not so directly involving the interests of the cotton, iron, and pottery manufacturers, nevertheless enabled them to attack the government on the ground of favoritism. Various commercial monopolies were retained, as that of the East India Company, and such concessions as were made (that is, the admission of Ireland to the African and American colonial trade) were not expected by Pitt to "interfere materially" in practice with existing English monopoly. The landed interests, as already pointed out in the preliminary analysis of the resolutions, were conciliated by exceptions to reciprocal trade in various agricultural products—exceptions which were admitted to be "very much to the advantage of this country", that is, to the agrarians of Britain. The woolen manufacturers, from early times vociferous and voracious beneficiaries of monopoly, had so overridden Irish competition that little remained of the Irish woolen industry, and yet they were conciliated by a continuation of the traditional policy of monopoly and special favor. The seventh resolution was interpreted by the Commissioners of Excise as maintaining the prohibitions against the export, to Ireland as well as elsewhere, of live sheep or lambs, yarn, mate-

<sup>13</sup> *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of C.*, pp. 181-183; *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of L.*, pp. 150-152, 176, 177; *Lords Journals*, XXXVII. 312, 323, 324; *Gazetteer*, Mar. 23, 1785.



rials made of wool worked up wholly or in part, mattresses or beds stuffed with sheep's, hare's, or cony's wool, materials used in the manufacture of wool, as fuller's earth, and tools and utensils used in the industry. Various other manufacturers were also protected. In striking contrast with this policy, serious difficulties were placed in the way of cotton manufacturers in securing materials, practically all of which were imported; manufacturers in Ireland were given equal access to these materials for the most part; and tools and utensils used in the cotton industry were not forbidden to be shipped to Ireland.<sup>14</sup>

Pitt himself recognized this contrast in the government's policy. In some branches, he told the House of Commons, "insurmountable objections" were maintained in the resolutions against Irish competition. "In the woollens, for instance, by confining the raw material to this country, the manufacture was confined also. There might be some branches", he continued (cotton and linen in particular, the men in these industries not unreasonably inferred), "in which Ireland might rival, and perhaps beat England; but this ought not to give us pain; we must calculate from general and not partial views." He recognized the fact that, under the resolutions, English skill and capital could readily be transferred to Ireland; and in his private letter of January 6, 1785, to the Duke of Rutland, he admitted complacently that certain industries would probably shift to Ireland, though not so rapidly, he hoped, as to cause serious distress in England.<sup>15</sup>

Is it to be expected, in view of such obvious and monopolistic discrimination, that the cotton manufacturers in particular should have offered no objection to the unamended passage of the resolutions? A self-sacrificing public spirit might have prompted such an attitude; but a politico-economic society accustomed for centuries to monopoly and public protection, and based, at best, upon profit-making determined by group conflicts and compromises, naturally dictated the course actually pursued.

In view of the subsequent industrial history of the British Isles, the basis of the view held by many of the manufacturers and by Pitt himself that certain industries would tend to shift from England to Ireland is not entirely apparent. But it appears that there was a sincere fear on the part of the cotton manufacturers and of some

<sup>14</sup> *Rept. of the Lords of the Com. of Council*, pp. 38 ff., 72; *Rept. of the Commissioners of Customs*, pp. 9, 15. On the attitude of the woollen manufacturers, which on the whole was naturally not unfriendly, see *Gazetteer*, Apr. 7, 18, 1785.

<sup>15</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 323, 324, 327; *Pitt-Rutland Corr.*, pp. 57, 58, 62-66.

among other groups that it would become necessary for them to remove to Ireland in order to maintain their enterprises. Later developments have indicated that this belief in the superior advantages of Ireland was not well founded; but these developments consist in part in changes which they themselves demanded in the government's policy, including the defeat of the Irish Resolutions and the repeal of the cotton tax. A more important factor, perhaps, was the transition to steam-power. In the development of large-scale manufacturing in progress in 1785, water-power was at the time of utmost importance, and in this connection many places in Ireland offered superior inducements.<sup>16</sup>

There were other attractions which Ireland was believed to offer, and these were set forth by the manufacturers in detail. One of the advantages held to be in favor of manufacturers in Ireland was the Irish policy of aiding industry by relative exemption from taxes, by bounties, by grants, by loans, and by private subsidies. The Irish policy, to be sure, had not had time to show decisive results, for it was inaugurated on a large scale only during the immediately preceding conflict with England. The non-importation agreements and the legislative separation from England were accompanied by a successful agitation for a national protective system. Cotton manufacturing, almost unknown before, suddenly developed into a successful and promising industry, using English machines, employing large capitals, and giving rise to rapidly growing industrial centres. Exports, though still small in 1784, had increased during the preceding three years at an extremely rapid rate. The principal cotton manufacturer testified in England before a committee of the House of Lords that the "public assistance" granted him had been "very great in loans and bounties". Questioned more specifically, he stated that various grants as well as loans and bounties had been given him. As for machinery, he admitted that "government provided a great deal of that for me". The Linen Board, he said, had made "considerable grants", and the Dublin Society of Arts also had aided him. He admitted, furthermore, that he possessed advantages over English manufacturers in the cheaper costs of fuel and of certain raw materials. Other manufacturers also received aid, and manufacturing was fostered not only by the government but as well by the landlords.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (fifth ed.), vol. II., pt. 2, p. 846, note 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of L.*, pp. 367-383; *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of C.*, pp. 49-51, 177, 184, 195, 196; *Rept. of the Lords of the Com. of Council*, p. 61; *Thoughts on the Establishment of New Manufactures in*

So eager, indeed, were influential people in Ireland to secure the benefits of the cotton industry that they made "very advantageous offers" to various English manufacturers to transfer their enterprises to Ireland. The industry in Ireland was in fact not a native creation, but was largely in charge of men whose skill and capital alike had been obtained in England by means of special inducements. This circumstance extenuated the hostility of the English manufacturers to the newly developing industry in Ireland. The English manufacturers themselves in some of their arguments made a distinction between native Irish industry and those industries which had been merely transplanted from England, by men of dubious characters and methods. The men who furnished the capital, it was asserted, were not genuine manufacturers, but men of other occupations or of no occupation. Statesmen, noblemen, members of the gentry, and mere adventurers have entered the industry; "colonels and captains in the army have also turned manufacturers". The manufacturer whose evidence concerning public patronage is given above was a Captain Brooke of the British army. These men, it was claimed, had gained extensive public aid in Ireland, and were now seeking further support from the English government in the form of the Irish Resolutions, by means of their positions and political influence, and at the expense of English industry.

But while the English manufacturers feared the effects of such public support as men of these types were commanding, their chief grievance against the men themselves was the method used by these "gentlemen manufacturers" in utilizing English skill. They employed Englishmen who had learned the mechanical and trade secrets of the English manufacturers, and who were now denounced as betrayers of their trust. Hostility was also aroused by attempts to "lure" English skilled workmen to Ireland. Captain Brooke, for instance, testified that the Irish government had granted him £3,000 for securing and settling Manchester workmen.

It was into the hands of such men as these—public officials, noblemen, esquires, and army officers, taking advantage of their privileged positions; artisans trained in English establishments; and adventurers from the new industrial centres, exploiting their knowledge of the new machines and methods—it was to these and not to genuine Irish manufacturers, in honest and fair competition with the English, that the English government proposed to resign

*Ireland, Occasioned by the Late Freedoms We Have Obtained, with an Account of the Manchester Manufactory established by Mr. Brooks* (Dublin, 1793); Sheffield, *Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland* (London, 1785), pp. 196-201.

certain of the industries of both kingdoms, and particularly the cotton industry. Such was the charge made by the manufacturers; and while it was naturally exaggerated, the contrast of policies afforded them just cause for concern. It is significant to note in this connection a statement by Arthur Young, whose attitude toward the English manufacturers in their relation to the Irish Resolutions was one of avowed hostility. The Irish cotton industry, he wrote, is owned mainly by "captains, colonels, and the relations of great families". In the light of these facts, the complacency with which William Pitt and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland viewed the possible shifting of industry to Ireland assumes an unexpected significance.<sup>18</sup>

Another objection to the resolutions urged by some of the English manufacturers was in connection with the use of English machines in Ireland. It was alleged that patent rights were frequently not maintained in Ireland. Captain Brooke testified that he paid nothing for the use of Arkwright's machines; English manufacturers, on the other hand, were required to pay extensive fees. It was contended, further, that freedom of export of machines to Ireland, which, except in the case of prohibitions already existing, was to be perpetuated by the resolutions, not only gave Ireland an advantage but threatened to make of that country a medium through which rivals in other nations would have access to English inventions, contrary to English laws. For it was held that even though the Irish government should enact laws similar to those in England against the export of machines, there was no guaranty that such laws would be effective. James Watt, among others, argued that "we can have no security that the exportation from Ireland will be forbidden [by Ireland], provided", he added satirically, that "that were thought a proper security".<sup>19</sup>

Another advantage of manufacturers in Ireland, it was claimed, was cheaper labor. That standards of living and wage scales were materially lower in Ireland than in England is evidenced by the testimony of such men as Arthur Young and Lord Sheffield, and of the manufacturers in Ireland themselves. Whether the real cost of labor as an element in cost of production was materially lower is another

<sup>18</sup> *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of L.*, pp. 230-235; *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of C.*, pp. 175, 184, 185, 195; Sheffield, *Observations on Ireland*, p. 198; *Annals of Agriculture*, III. 272, 283.

<sup>19</sup> *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of L.*, pp. 148, 156, 157, 248-258; *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of C.*, pp. 16, 17, 43, 196-199, 209; *Lords Journals*, XXXVII. 328, 336, 337; Wright, *Address to Parliament on the Late Tax*, pp. 8, 9; Sheffield, *Observations on Ireland*, p. 197; *Gazetteer*, June 3, 13, 1785.

question; but, given equal skill in methods of administering industry, there seems to be no valid reason for doubting the advantage of Ireland in this respect. It was argued, however, as in more recent times, though less emphatically, that relatively high wages were in reality profitable to the employer, owing to the increased efficiency of labor and the enlarged purchasing power of consumers.

Closely connected in the arguments of the manufacturers with the question of relative labor costs was the question of relative tax burdens. This, it will be recalled, was the basis of the original connection between the Irish Resolutions and the tax on cottons. The argument was elaborated in many forms and presented with universal insistence. The advantage of manufacturers in Ireland in this respect was admitted even by Pitt. In Parliament he asked the question "whether, under the accumulation of our heavy taxes, it would be wise to equalize the duties, by which a country, free from those duties, might be able to meet us, and to overthrow us in their, and in our own markets". He answered his own question by saying that some branches, as woollen manufacturing, were duly protected by monopolies; that in some branches the manufacturers were able to protect themselves; and that in other branches it was only fair to Ireland that she should be allowed to excel. In his private letter to the Duke of Rutland, he stated that his plan would grant to Ireland more than equality, in part because Englishmen are "burdened with accumulated taxes, which are felt in the price of every necessary of life, and of course enter into the cost of every article of manufacture". William Eden estimated that tax burdens in England were six times heavier than in Ireland.

Although various forms of taxation were heavier in England than in Ireland, the excise in particular aroused the chief hostility of the cotton manufacturers against the Irish Resolutions. And while countervailing duties on Irish imports were to be permitted in the case of the excise, this did not satisfy the manufacturers; for, as has been seen, their chief objection was not to the amount but to the methods of collection. Then, too, they were becoming interested not so much in protecting home markets as in acquiring new markets, in which countervailing duties would not apply. Thomas Walker of the Manchester committee stated before the Committee on Trade and Plantations that "the various restrictions, embarrassments, impediments, risks, and expenses", in addition to the sum of the excises, would "by no means" be counterbalanced by the countervailing duty; the system would operate, he added, "as a bounty to the

Irish manufacturer in the same degree that it oppresses the English manufacturer".<sup>20</sup>

The difference in the tax systems of the two kingdoms was made indeed the most prominent basis of hostility to the government's Irish policy. It was this difference which was set forth as the chief cause and justification of an extremely radical step proposed by many of the manufacturers, particularly of cottons. On April 11, 1785, at a meeting of eighteen "principal manufacturers" at Manchester, claiming to be employers of 42,000 workmen, it was resolved that "the destructive system [of taxation] adopted towards the manufacturers of this kingdom, and to this town and neighborhood in particular, renders it incumbent upon them immediately to appoint delegates to go to Ireland for the purpose of treating with any public body, or individual, nobleman or gentleman, respecting a proper situation for conducting an extensive cotton manufacture". Delegates were accordingly named. It was further resolved "that to justify their conduct to their countrymen, for adopting a measure so repugnant to their feeling, and so ruinous to the nation, as transplanting the cotton manufacture", they beg leave to set forth the evils of the excise laws and to contrast "these destructive and obnoxious systems" with the "unbounded profusion" of advantages offered to manufacturers in Ireland. Various attractive offers had been received from several sources in Ireland, not only by the cotton manufacturers but by others also. Several of the principal manufacturers testified before committees of Parliament that they intended to transfer their enterprises to Ireland; and Robert Peel expressed the view that the Irish Resolutions and "injurious taxes" would cause England to lose the cotton industry.<sup>21</sup>

It is significant that manufacturers of greatest prominence and highest reputation, such as Robert Peel, stated their explicit intention of removing their enterprises to Ireland in consequence of the Irish and excise policies of the government. Probably the extensive threats of emigration were in some instances insincere, and were utilized for political effect. But the alarm was evidently genuine and not entirely without justification. It is true that in the case of the cotton manufacturers their hostility was primarily to the excise.

<sup>20</sup> *Commons Journals*, XL. 760 (a typical petition combining the relative tax and labor costs as an argument against the Irish Resolutions); *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 323, 324, 338; *Pitt-Rutland Corr.*, pp. 62-64; *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of C.*, p. 66.

<sup>21</sup> *Gazetteer*, Feb. 26, Apr. 15, 18, 1785; *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of C.*, pp. 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 29, 32, 49-51, 59, 60, 66, 67, 76; *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of L.*, pp. 6, 10, 57, 172-174; Wright, *Address to Parliament on the Late Tax*, p. 60; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. LV., pt. 1, pp. 234, 449.

It was believed by some indeed that the connection which they made between the two measures was merely a clever manoeuvre for gaining the support of all manufacturers who opposed the Irish Resolutions in their fight against the government's excise policy. "The Manchester people", wrote the Marquis of Lansdowne, "have contrived artfully enough to confound the taxes lately imposed on manufactures with the Irish propositions", and he expressed the view that were it not for the taxes they would not seriously oppose the resolutions. The same belief was expressed by others. Although the cotton manufacturers urged against the resolutions a number of other objections which they evidently believed to be valid, their principal objection was unquestionably based upon the contrast in the tax policies of the two kingdoms. And while they "contrived artfully" to connect the two measures in the minds of their fellow manufacturers, the connection, as has already been pointed out, was virtually forced upon them in the first place by the government.<sup>22</sup>

In any case, the two policies having been connected, the manufacturers waged a common fight against them. The organization of the General Chamber of Manufacturers ensued, the prime movers being the cotton, iron, ironwares, and pottery manufacturers.

The cotton manufacturers had the advantage of the committee which had earlier been sent to London to secure the repeal of the cotton tax. This advantage they utilized fully. In support of their committee at London, Manchester manufacturers held meetings, sent out circular letters, utilized the press, and secured the support of the General Chamber of Manufacturers in the fight against both measures. As a result of these activities and of the work of the General Chamber in organizing the opposition, a vast flood of petitions deluged the House of Commons—petitions similar in nature and commonly denouncing the English system of taxation as well as the proposed adjustment of Irish relations. Between the date of organization of the manufacturers in March and the vote on the resolutions in the House of Commons on May 12, more than sixty petitions were sent in from various parts of the country. Among these petitions was one of striking character presented on March 16 by Mr. Stanley of Lancashire. He dramatically informed the House that the petition which lay at his feet (for it was too heavy for him to carry in his hand) was signed by eighty thousand inhabitants of Lancashire. It complained bitterly against the excise laws,

<sup>22</sup> Rutland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Comm.), III. 201, 202; *Min. of Evidence, Com. of H. of C.*, p. 89; *Gazetteer*, Apr. 18, May 2, 1785.

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and like many of the other petitions, contrasted the government's domestic policy with its attitude toward Ireland.<sup>23</sup>

Pitt first yielded on the excise measure. On April 20 he stated in Parliament that the original tax had been imposed with the consent of certain cotton manufacturers, but it appeared that the manufacturers generally had repudiated the action of those who had expressed approval. He said that the manufacturers were in error in opposing the tax, and he proceeded at length to dispose of various objections and to seek vindication of his policy in imposing the tax. He tried in particular to discount the connection made between the tax and the Irish Resolutions. The one objection having any serious claim to validity, he thought, was as to the mode of collection, and even this had been greatly exaggerated. He contended that the opposition was not justified, and that the manufacturers had used questionable means in seeking a change in the law, but at the same time he proposed to amend the law and particularly to repeal the excises on plain cottons and fustians. He justified his action in acceding to a demand based on unfounded objections and pressed upon him by dubious methods by saying that the amount of the revenue involved was not large enough to fight about; and that "the opinions, however originating, however infused, or however founded, of so large, so useful, and so respectable a body of men as the cotton manufacturers—nay, even their prejudices and errors were to him objects of such serious consideration, that he would not put his own sentiments in competition with them, when the point in question was such as could with any safety be given up". This grudging and ill-humored concession, which was embodied in a bill that was passed by the House of Commons on May 10, led to an effective counter-thrust by Fox, who was posing at the time as the champion of the manufacturers; and it was naturally ineffective in serving perhaps the main purpose intended by Pitt, namely, the reconciling of the industrial interests to the Irish Resolutions.<sup>24</sup>

In respect to his Irish policy, he was soon impelled to take refuge in compromise rather than to risk defeat in the House of Commons on such a vital measure. The resolutions were introduced in a new form, Pitt explaining the specific changes as making alterations not so much in the intended meaning of the original measure as in the mode of expression. But certain concessions were made not only to the manufacturers (as the safeguarding of their patents from

<sup>23</sup> *Gazetteer*, Mar. 9, 23, Apr. 6, 15, 18, 1785; *Commons Journals*, XL. 576-988; *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 362.

<sup>24</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 478-484.

foreigners by means of compulsory Irish as well as English protective measures), but also to the West India merchants and other groups. In many instances of changes in the text of the resolutions, the Irish Parliament was required to enact various measures already passed or to be passed by the English Parliament. Therefore, to the original grounds of opposition, little modified by the changed form of the resolutions, there was now added the objection that the legislative independence of the Irish Parliament was impaired. The manufacturers continued to oppose the government, and immediately after the amended resolutions were presented to Parliament by the ministry, the General Chamber of Manufacturers met and resolved to notify its constituent groups and to ask them to petition for further delay in final action. Then followed a second deluge of petitions, conforming closely in tone to the recommendations of the General Chamber. Although Pitt secured the adoption of the revised resolutions, the revision itself was a virtual defeat at home, and the cause of the not unexpected rejection of the entire plan in Ireland when it returned in revised form to the Irish Parliament for final action.<sup>25</sup>

Thus ended in defeat a policy which had engaged the utmost powers of the prime minister and which had been regarded by him as vital to himself and to the empire.

The guiding influence of the General Chamber of Manufacturers in the work of securing the repeal of the cotton tax and the ultimate defeat of the government's Irish policy was obscured by its indirect methods of operating through local groups. But the success of the opposition was commonly attributed at the time largely to the manufacturers, and the more discerning observers, as Arthur Young, even then perceived the importance of the Chamber as a "centre of union". The Chamber itself on a later occasion ascribed the yielding of the government largely to its own influence, and the same assertion was made in Parliament and in the press. But contemporaries naturally failed to observe many of its activities, for its methods may be compared, in subtlety, to those of lobbyists of more recent times.<sup>26</sup>

Manufacturers, and particularly merchants, had long been recognized as factors in political life; and the conflict of 1785 between

<sup>25</sup> *Commons Journals*, XL. 974, 995-1088; *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 579, 580, 934-942; *Gazetteer*, May 14, 1785.

<sup>26</sup> *Annals of Agriculture*, III. 260, 388, 452-455, IV. 118; *Gazetteer*, May 19, 1785; [Adam Anderson], *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, IV. 587 (ed. 1789); *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 483-490, 858, 963, and *passim*, XXVI. 350, 378, 390, and *passim*.

the manufacturers and the government was by no means the first instance of industrial influence on public policy. And yet the conflict has a special if not a unique significance. The fight was waged under the inspiration and guidance of relatively new groups of manufacturers hitherto practically unrecognized; and it was waged by means of an organization which was itself the creation of these new industrial groups. These new groups and new influences mark the beginnings of modern industrialism.

Nor is this the only reason for attaching special significance to the conflict. The struggle was the means of focusing attention on the problem of liberalizing commercial policy. The Irish Resolutions are themselves commonly regarded as having been an attempt to break down the barriers of the old system; but, as has been pointed out, the manufacturers opposed the resolutions because of monopolistic favoritism in Anglo-Irish relations and because of the preferential clause being viewed by them as a bar to the expansion of trade by means of reciprocal commercial treaties. This attitude of the manufacturers, while accentuating hostility between them and the government in so far as the Irish Resolutions were concerned, was in reality in accord with Pitt's own growing conviction of the need for relaxing the restrictions on commercial relations. In consequence, the conflict, bitter as it was, pointed the way to a reconciliation between the government and the new groups rising rapidly to political as well as economic power. This reconciliation was hastened by a significantly favorable change in the prime minister's attitude toward these more recent types of industrialists; and it was occasioned by the readjustment of commercial relations with France by the treaty of 1786.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV. 18-35 (October, 1919).

## THE MILITARY STUDIES OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE generalship of Washington has never been satisfactorily evaluated. As one element in such evaluation, his military education requires investigation; this in turn must be analyzed into theoretical and practical education. A hasty sketch of the possibilities of an investigation into his military reading is here presented. No claim of completeness is made, for the notes were collected as an incident to other work, and not by a systematic search.

There has been an impression, at least in some quarters, that when he took command of the Continental armies he had no more military knowledge than he had acquired in a somewhat rough-and-tumble fashion on the Virginia frontier. His own modest manner of speaking of the imperfect military knowledge of "all of us" contributes to this impression. Hamilton has been quoted as saying that he never read any book on the art of war except Simes's *Military Guide*, and an anonymous writer asserted that he never read anything of higher value than Bland's *Exercises*.<sup>1</sup>

The two books mentioned, constituting the minimum of his reading, will be considered later. Meanwhile, we may examine the evidence as to what he actually did read and as to his attitude toward military study in general. It should be remembered that military books were rare and expensive in that day, that soldiers in any army were not inclined to deep theoretical study, and that in America in particular military books were hard to get before the Revolution.

In the catalogue of the Boston Athenaeum is a list of the books owned by Washington. Aside from historical and other books having a more or less indirect bearing upon military matters, we find a large number of technical military works. Through the kind assistance of the Library of Congress these have all been assembled here and examined. The mere appearance of a book on this list, of course, does not prove that Washington ever opened it; is there any evidence to show that he used this library?

Washington's first commission was as one of the four district adjutants of Virginia. This appointment was given him in November, 1752, when he was less than twenty-one years old. Perhaps, one may say, the duties were only administrative and their performance perfunctory. In fact, however, the duties were those of an

<sup>1</sup> Ford, *True George Washington*, p. 76.

inspector and instructor, demanding at least a little military knowledge; and nothing in Washington's subsequent career leads us to suppose that he ever took the duties of an office lightly or performed them perfunctorily.<sup>2</sup>

Our next clue is in 1755, when he went with Braddock as a volunteer aide. His acceptance of this appointment surprised some of his friends; but his own explanation was that his purpose was to obtain a better knowledge of the military profession.<sup>3</sup> The disastrous ending of this expedition might have led him, as it did thousands of superficial thinkers in the colonies, to a contempt for military study. But the conduct of the expedition was not as bad as it has been painted; and Washington does not seem to have drawn any such inference.

Our next bit of evidence shows that in the next year he sent to England for a military book, which perhaps he had seen in the hands of British officers—Bland's *Military Discipline*, the book mentioned in terms of apparent depreciation by the anonymous writer above cited.<sup>4</sup>

But the book is not to be despised. It was the most popular military handbook of the time in England.<sup>5</sup> The edition which Washington secured at this time was that of 1727; and an examination of this text shows it to have been a most excellent statement of the art of war as known and practised by Marlborough and his contemporaries, and as then practised in the British army.

Even before receiving his own copy, he was recommending this book to others. On January 8, 1756, in promulgating his approval of the findings of a court martial, he issued an "address to the officers of the Virginia regiment",<sup>6</sup> in which he urged that they must read and study their profession, adding, "There is Bland's and other treatises which will give the wished-for information".

Apparently he did not restrict his own reading entirely to Bland, but kept with him more general works of military value. In 1756 Colonel William Fairfax wrote to him, saying, "I am sensible that such a medley of undisciplined militia must create you various troubles, but, having Caesar's Commentaries, and perhaps Quintus Curtius, you have therein read of greater fatigues".<sup>7</sup>

In the same year he found another occasion to place on record his attitude as to military study. He wrote to the major of his regi-

<sup>2</sup> *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, July, 1923, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> *Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford, I. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of the Washington Collection in the Boston Athenaeum*.

<sup>5</sup> Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, II. 589.

<sup>6</sup> *Writings of Washington*, I. 219.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 281.

ment: "Your own good sense has sufficiently prompted you to study the nature of your duty; but at the same time permit me, as a duty incumbent on myself, to recommend in the strongest terms to you the necessity of qualifying yourself by *reading* for the discharge of the duty of major . . .".<sup>8</sup>

In 1757 we find him again urging his officers to study. On July 29, in general instructions to captains of companies, he wrote:

Permit me before I finish (and now that the companies are formed for service, and agreeable to order) to recommend—and I do in the strongest manner I can to you and your Officers,—to devote some part of your leisure hours to study of your profession, a knowledge in which cannot be attained without application; nor any merit or applause to be achieved without a certain knowledge thereof.<sup>9</sup>

In 1758 Washington accompanied General Forbes on his successful expedition against Fort Duquesne, in command of a Virginia regiment. Forbes was a strong-minded Scot, known to his soldiers as the "head of iron". With great practical experience he combined a respect for and a knowledge of military literature, and his letters show that he had been strongly impressed by a new French book, the *Essai sur l'Art de la Guerre*, by Count Turpin de Crissé, published in Paris in 1754.<sup>10</sup> This book was translated into English by Captain Joseph Otway, and published in London in 1761; a copy of the translation was in Washington's library, and, as will appear later, he thought highly of it. So this second association with trained officers brought a second book to his attention, as had happened in 1755.

We have the details of his solution of one of the tactical problems of this expedition, in the form of plans submitted by him to General Forbes for marching the command from Raestown to Fort Loudoun, forty miles through the enemy's country.<sup>11</sup> From this we can judge of his manner of attacking such a problem; entirely aside from the merit of the solution, the style is distinctly that of an officer with some training in technique, not at all that of the frontiersman depending upon frontier experience only.

Details have not been found as to his reading for the next few years, although there is every reason to suppose that he kept himself informed as to military events in Europe, and especially as to Frederick's campaigns, which so greatly influenced military thought. When the Revolutionary War was impending, however, we find him

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 255-256.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 470.

<sup>10</sup> Kimball, *Correspondence of William Pitt*, I. 374

<sup>11</sup> *Writings*, II. 106.

seeking new military books. There was in his library a *Military Treatise*, of no remarkable merit, by Lieutenant Webb of the 49th Regiment, published in Philadelphia in 1759. This was purchased for him in November, 1774, by William Milnor. The purchase was evidently upon his order for some new book of whose title he was uncertain, or else upon a general order for new military books; for Milnor wrote, in sending this book, "after the strictest inquiry, I could find no other Treatise on *Military Discipline*, but the one I have sent you".<sup>12</sup>

At the very beginning of the Revolution, Washington was naturally called upon for all sorts of military assistance and advice. One request, which must have come to him many times, was for advice as to reading. In response to such a request from Colonel William Woodford of Virginia, he wrote from Cambridge on November 10, 1775, giving a list of five books.<sup>13</sup> The first, and most highly recommended as a beginning, was his old friend Bland. He specified particularly the "newest edition"; this was the edition of 1762, greatly revised and partly rewritten. The other four books were the *Essay on the Art of War*; *Instructions for Officers*, lately published in Philadelphia; *The Partisan*; and "Young".

The *Essay on the Art of War* we readily recognize as Turpin's book, in Otway's translation. Further notice of this seems called for.

Count Turpin de Crissé was born in France in 1715 and entered the French army at an early age. In 1734 he was captain, and ten years later colonel of hussars. He served with distinction in Italy and under Marshal Saxe; he took part in the Seven Years' War, and in 1761 was promoted to the grade of *maréchal de camp*. In 1792 he was lieutenant-general. He emigrated during the French Revolution and died in Germany. This essay was only one of several military works. It was praised not only by General Forbes, but also by General Wolfe, who was a great student as well as a thorough practical soldier.<sup>14</sup> While called merely an essay, it is actually a treatise, and an extensive one, consisting of five "books".

The *Instructions for Officers* evidently means a book under the title *Military Instructions for Officers* by Roger Stevenson, published in Philadelphia in 1775. Washington had presumably just received a copy of this, one of the numerous military books that were beginning to appear in America for the use of the new armies.

<sup>12</sup> *Catalogue of the Washington Collection in the Boston Athenaeum*, p. 220.

<sup>13</sup> *Writings*, III. 212.

<sup>14</sup> Wright, *Life of Wolfe*.



He cared enough for it to preserve it, and it was in his library at Mount Vernon.

*The Partisan* was a French book, published in English translation in London in 1760. It is a very sound treatise on "small war", or the organization and handling of detachments for the service of security and information. While all the details are of course based upon the customs of that time, the instruction is as sound to-day as it was then.

"Young" doubtless means *Manoeuvres, or Practical Observations on the Art of War*, by William Young, "late Major of Brigade to the Corps of Grenadiers and Highlanders who served in Germany, and now in the service of Brunswick", published in London in 1771. It is in two volumes, illustrated with numerous copper-plate diagrams, and contains seven separate parts, each with its own title-page and page numbering. Most of them treat of infantry tactics in general, but three call for special mention. One is an essay on the command of small detachments. A second is "a new system of fortifications, constructed with fallen timber, or the sentiments of a West Indian Savage on the Art of War". The third is General Wolfe's *Instructions to Young Officers*. All in all, an eminently useful book to a new officer of the new American army.

Such a list of books, each different from any other and all valuable for the specific purpose in hand, could never have been prepared by one unfamiliar with military literature.

Nothing has yet been said of Simes's *Military Guide*, mentioned by Hamilton as the sum total of Washington's reading. This Thomas Simes was an industrious, if not very deep, student and published at least three military books, all of which Washington owned. This one quotes very extensively from Marshal Saxe, and it has been found an extremely convenient guide even now in studying the military institutions and customs of that period.

It is to be assumed that during the Revolution military books would naturally fall in Washington's way, and that he would perforce read or hear discussions of many, regardless of his earlier habits. We know that he, or at least those very close to him, kept touch with current military theories abroad; for in 1778 Colonel Laurens, his aide, wrote to his father, then president of Congress, for assistance in procuring the writings of Mesnil-Durand and Guibert, representing different angles of the then active controversy of line *versus* column.<sup>15</sup> Guibert's *Essai Général de Tactique* seems to have been one of the books obtained as a result of this effort. This

<sup>15</sup> Laurens, *Correspondence*, p. 141.

was a most notable book—conservative in that it adhered to the tactical forms of Frederick, but progressive to a degree in its proposals for active and daring conduct of war. It became a favorite book of Washington, as it did later of Napoleon.<sup>16</sup>

A very brief reference to a few of the remaining books in the Mount Vernon library will suffice. A place of honor was doubtless given to the three books on military subjects published by Timothy Pickering, in the early 'seventies, for Washington referred to Pickering as a great military genius. Conspicuous and solid items are the *Memoirs* of Marshal Saxe, the King of Prussia's *Works*, the *History of Marshal Turenne*, Sully's *Memoirs*, the *Memoirs* of Frederick II., and standard works on cavalry, artillery, and field engineering. The French *Regulations* of 1776 for the Engineer Corps were sent to Washington in 1777; a French book on cavalry was given him by Rochambeau. And his interest in military study continued long after the war; for in his library was a copy of Henry Lloyd's *Political and Military Rhapsody on the Invasion and Defense of Great Britain and Ireland*. This might of course have reached him incidentally and have no significance, but this is apparently not the case. It was presented to him by Mr. Bird of London, who called attention to references to the use of the pike in connection with Indian wars. This special mention of an obscure point seems clearly to indicate previous discussions of such matters.

While an analysis of it would lead us too far for present purposes, it may be in order to allude briefly to the correspondence of 1776-1777, dealing with Washington's second reconstruction of his army in the face of the enemy.<sup>17</sup> The views therein expressed, especially as to cavalry and artillery, are decidedly such as could have been formulated only by a man of broad military reading and culture; and we know enough of Washington's military household at that time to be sure that the views were his own, and not those formulated for his signature by any staff officer.

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<sup>16</sup> Rocquancourt, *Cours Élémentaire d'Art et d'Histoire Militaires*, III. 371.

<sup>17</sup> *Writings of Washington*, V. 478, VI. 300; etc.

## THE OREGON PIONEERS AND THE BOUNDARY <sup>1</sup>

It is a truism in American history that the success of the United States in the Oregon boundary negotiations was due in considerable measure to the Oregon pioneers. They brought pressure to bear on the British government during the final stages of the Oregon negotiations, and this was a factor in winning for their country the empire of the Pacific Northwest. But what the nature of this pressure was, how direct it was, or how great its effectiveness, are questions that have never been carefully investigated. They deserve attention, for they go to the heart of Oregon diplomacy and determine the place of the Oregon pioneers in American diplomatic history. They are the province of this study.

Proper analysis of this subject necessitates at the outset a survey of the stakes of Oregon diplomacy. They were not as extensive as at first sight they seem. Nominally the whole of the Oregon country was at issue, the vast domain extending from the Rocky Mountains to the sea and from California to Alaska. But the region about which dispute really centred was the comparatively limited area lying between the Columbia River and the forty-ninth parallel, the rectangle now constituting the central and western thirds of the state of Washington. As early as 1818 the British government had intimated a willingness to divide the Oregon country at the line of the Columbia River and the forty-ninth parallel, and this it definitely offered to do in 1824, 1826, and 1844. It further offered in 1826 and 1844 to yield to the United States a large segment of territory north of the Columbia, intended to satisfy the determined American demand for a share in the harbors of Puget Sound.<sup>2</sup> These proposals the American government had declined. That embracing the Puget Sound harbors had been unacceptable because the proffered area in which they lay would have been isolated from the body of the United States, an enclave in British territory. But the offer had served a useful purpose from the American point of view. It had committed the British government to a line of partition even

<sup>1</sup> This paper, read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Columbus, Dec. 28, 1923, is part of a larger study of the Oregon question begun some years ago in the Seminar of Professor Turner at Harvard University. I need not say how much I owe to him in the way of stimulating suggestions made then and since.

<sup>2</sup> The region bounded by Fuca's Strait, Hood's Canal, and a line drawn from the southern extremity of Hood's Canal to the southern point of Gray's Harbor.

more favorable to the United States than the Columbia River.<sup>3</sup> And this was years before any pioneers had begun to settle in Oregon.

Similarly, though with somewhat less certainty, the American government stood committed to the line of the forty-ninth parallel. This it had offered as a compromise from the very beginning, and, when in 1844 Calhoun attempted to extend again the field of dispute, Pakenham, the British ambassador, cut him short, informing him that he "was not authorized to treat about any territory lying to the north of the 49th parallel of latitude, which was considered by Her Majesty's Government to form the basis for the Negotiation, on the side of the United States, as the line of the Columbia formed that on the side of Great Britain".<sup>4</sup> So clear had this mutual delimitation of the field of dispute become by the time of the later Oregon negotiations that in 1844 Pakenham recommended to his government that it offer full cession to the United States of the territory south of the Columbia in return for the yielding by the United States of the territory north of the forty-ninth parallel, a proposal which interested Lord Aberdeen but which he did not press because he foresaw that it would be rejected by the American government.<sup>5</sup>

With these facts as a guide we may now turn to assessing the influence of the Oregon pioneers on the boundary negotiations. It has been supposed that they determined the character of the final settlement by simply taking possession as farmers of the territory in dispute.<sup>6</sup> Five thousand American settlers wielded the pen, it is

<sup>3</sup> "It is true that in submitting this last proposition [1826] we distinctly stated that, in case it was rejected, we should consider it as in no way committing us to the adoption of any course for the future. But it is obvious that a proposition of this kind once made, must always involve the practical difficulty of subsequently assuming any less extensive basis of negotiation." Aberdeen to Pakenham, Dec. 28, 1843, Public Record Office, F. O. 115: 83.

<sup>4</sup> Pakenham to Aberdeen, Sept. 28, 1844, F. O. 5: 408.

<sup>5</sup> Aberdeen to Peel, Oct. 17, 1844; Peel to Aberdeen, Oct. 19, 1844. Peel MSS., British Museum. A similar suggestion was under discussion in the negotiations of 1826-1827.

<sup>6</sup> This is the view which the Oregon pioneers themselves advanced through their delegate in Congress when seeking their 640-acre donations. See Memorial of J. Q. Thornton, *Sen. Misc. Doc.* no. 143, 30 Cong., 1 sess. It is the theory which underlies a fundamental part of the Marcus Whitman legend. See also Joseph Schafer, "Notes on the Colonization of Oregon", in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, VI. 390; Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, II. 163; Lady Frances Balfour, *Life of Aberdeen*, II. 134. This view was given perhaps its baldest expression by President Harding in his Meacham, Ore., address: "But stern determination triumphed, and the result was conclusive. Americans had settled the country. The country belonged to them because they had taken it; and in the end the boundary settlement was made on the line of the forty-ninth parallel, your great Northwest was saved, and a veritable empire was merged in the young Republic." *New York Times*, July 4, 1923. For a

thought, that wrote the Oregon Treaty, demonstrating that in diplomacy possession is nine points of the law. It is a plausible theory. But it collapses at the prick of the fact that in 1846 all or practically all the American pioneers in Oregon were located in the Willamette Valley, on the south side of the Columbia River—just that part of the Oregon country which ever since 1818 the British government had been willing to concede to the United States. American occupation in other words was of an area that did not need to be won.

North of the Columbia River, on the other hand, in the region really at issue, the total number of American settlers was eight. Seven of these with their families under the leadership of M. T. Simmons, famous in the history of the state of Washington as its first permanent white settler, had established themselves in October, 1845, at the head of Puget Sound. At Jackson Prairie near the Cowlitz Landing was an Americanized Englishman. That was the extent of American occupation north of the Columbia; and of American commercial activity here, there was in 1846 none.

British interests, on the other hand, agricultural as well as commercial, were strong. Fort Vancouver was in this region, on the north bank of the Columbia River, so located in 1824 in place of old Fort George south of the river at the special request of George Canning, the British minister of foreign affairs, and so named by Governor Simpson in order to link the claims to the soil which Great Britain advanced to the discoveries and survey of Vancouver.<sup>7</sup> That this post under the chief factorship of Doctor McLoughlin controlled the commerce, particularly the fur trade, of the region north of the Columbia no one can doubt; indeed, it dominated the commercial life of the whole Oregon country, including even the American settlements in the Willamette. But this establishment represented also a powerful agricultural interest. At the fort ten or more entire sections of land were held for the Hudson's Bay Company. Twelve hundred acres of this were under cultivation, the remainder pastured 700 brood mares, 1600 hogs, and cattle and sheep to the number of 3400. There were employed here more or less regularly in the fields, dairies, mills, shops, and stores of the great establishment from 150 to 200 men, who, with their Indian wives and half-breed children, comprised a settlement that already

modified view see Joseph Schafer, *History of the Pacific Northwest* (1918 ed.), pp. 181-184, and "Oregon Pioneers" in *Turner Essays in American History*, p. 35. See *post*, p. 690.

<sup>7</sup> Pelly to Canning, Dec. 9, 1825, printed in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XX. 27.

in 1837 was estimated by Lieutenant Slocum to contain from 750 to 800 souls.

Four other establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company, or of its subsidiary, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, lay between the Columbia River and the forty-ninth parallel. Fort Okanagan, near the river of the same name, was of minor importance. Fort Victoria at the tip of Vancouver Island was new but rapidly developing. Fort Nisqually was the centre of the herding and farming activities of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, where on a tract of 167,000 acres there were pastured 5800 sheep, 200 horses, and 1850 cattle. Cowlitz Farm was another extensive property, embracing 3500 acres, of which 1400 acres under cultivation produced yearly more than 10,000 bushels of grain and the remainder pastured 100 horses and sheep and cattle to the number of 1500. Eighty-five men were attached to these four establishments, who with their families added their quota to the weight of British occupation.<sup>8</sup> Nineteen Canadian families, retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a Roman Catholic mission were established near the Cowlitz River.<sup>9</sup> Clearly British influence outweighed American in this contested area; and if occupation had determined its fate in 1846, it must inevitably have become British territory.

Nor may we assume that these facts were unknown to the British Foreign Office. Lord Aberdeen was well aware of them and understood their meaning. Indeed he overestimated the British advantage, for he did not know when he framed the Oregon Treaty of the little American settlement forming at the head of Puget Sound. His latest advices from the Northwest Coast were those brought by Lieutenant Peel, who sailed from the Straits of Fuca on September 26, 1845,<sup>10</sup> whereas the Simmons party did not reach Puget Sound until near the end of October.<sup>11</sup> What was in his mind when he

<sup>8</sup> The data used in this paragraph are gathered from Warre and Vavasour's Report, Oct. 27, 1845, conveniently printed in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, X. 60; Report of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, Jan. 14, 1846, F. O. 5: 460; Slocum's Report, Mar. 26, 1837, in *House Committee Reports* no. 101, 25 Cong., 3 sess. Lord Aberdeen had at his disposal the Report of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company when he framed the Oregon Treaty.

<sup>9</sup> Vavasour's "Report", Mar. 1, 1846, in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, X. 91. Warre and Vavasour under date of Oct. 26, 1845, report 90 families, but this is an error. *Ibid.*, p. 56. Lieutenant Peel, Sept. 27, 1845, reports eight families, F. O. 5: 459.

<sup>10</sup> Gordon to Secretary of Admiralty, Oct. 19, 1845, F. O. 5: 459.

<sup>11</sup> Captain Gordon's report casually noticed that the head of Puget Sound had been "lately taken possession of by an American Party". This referred to the claims-making expedition of Simmons and some others in July, 1845. Simmons was the speculator type of pioneer who early penetrated this northern region in search of a mill site. *Ibid.*

formulated the Oregon Treaty and despatched it to Washington may be seen from one of the private letters of instruction which he sent with it to Pakenham. He emphasizes in this the extent of the sacrifice Great Britain is making in conceding to the United States the line of the forty-ninth parallel, which will "interfere with the possessions of British colonists resident in a district in which it is believed that scarcely an American citizen as a settler, has ever set his foot".<sup>12</sup>

American negotiators were likewise aware of these facts, though naturally they were disposed to keep them dark. It is significant that Calhoun, famous advocate of "masterly inactivity", who in his negotiations with Pakenham in 1844 first stressed as an important diplomatic fact the moving of the pioneers into Oregon, remained vague as to their location and spoke not of the present but of the future when he said "that the whole region drained by it [the Columbia River] is destined to be peopled by us".<sup>13</sup> Congressmen blurted out more openly what was well known to the State Department. Owen, of Indiana, for example, on January 3, 1846, asks a question and answers it:

Is there an American settler now living north of the Columbia? So far as I know or believe, not one. I have recently conversed with an intelligent gentleman who has spent some years in that country; and he informs me that the moment a citizen of the United States attempts to settle north of the river—on the *British* side as they persist in calling it—the Hudson Bay Company—the East India Company of that region—sees to it that they are removed, and caused to emigrate south of the stream.<sup>14</sup>

McClernand of Illinois asserted five days later in the same debate:

An idea was purposely inculcated in Oregon, by the British authorities, that the settlements of the Americans south of the Columbia would be acquiesced in by that Government; but that all such north of that stream would be contested, if needs be, at the point of the bayonet. This idea was attended with the effect of restricting the settlements of the two countries to different sides of the river. While the Americans were settling the south, Great Britain, as a counterpoise, would fill up the north—convert her temporary settlements, for the purposes of trading and fishing, under the convention, into permanent agricultural and commercial communities . . .<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Aberdeen to Pakenham, May 18, 1846. Privately printed (unpublished) *Correspondence of the Earl of Aberdeen*. I am indebted to Lord Stanmore for access to this printed correspondence of which he owns the only set in existence; also for courteous permission to use the Aberdeen MSS.

<sup>13</sup> Calhoun to Pakenham, Sept. 3, 1844, printed in *Sen. Doc.* no. 1, 29 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 146-153.

<sup>14</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 1845-1846, p. 135.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.



Four other references to the same facts were made on the floor of the House by Rhett, Douglas, Giles, and Caleb Smith in a single week of debate.<sup>16</sup> We must then abandon this theory that American pioneers brought pressure to bear on the government of either country by occupation of the area in dispute.

It would be more correct to say that they sought out the Willamette Valley, partly because of a previous certainty that it would eventually be allotted to the United States. They regarded this as important, for, apart from patriotism, it meant American land policy and the probable donation to them of their 640-acre pre-emptions. That they knew the Willamette was in no real sense contested territory when they located there it is easy to demonstrate. The Canadian servants of the Hudson's Bay Company who first settled in it realized that it was to become American territory and some of them hesitated to go there on that account, as Dr. McLoughlin testifies, fearing discrimination.<sup>17</sup> Jason Lee located his mission there in 1834, partly because he wished to work in what would normally become American soil.<sup>18</sup> Slocum, special agent of President Jackson, told the Canadians here in 1837, much to their joy, that "although they were located within the territorial limits of the United States, their pre-emption rights would doubtless be secured them when our Government should take possession of the country".<sup>19</sup> Alexander Simpson, who spent several days in the Willamette in 1840, found the settlers "aware that under American law" their pre-emption rights were not unlimited and choosing their locations accordingly.<sup>20</sup> Dr. McLoughlin reported in 1844: "As to the immigrants come this year [1843] they have placed themselves all on the South side of the Columbia River in the Wallamette, Falaty Plains, about Fort George and Clatsop, and give out that they believe the Columbia River will be the boundary."<sup>21</sup>

But what really determined the flow of American pioneers into the Willamette Valley was its unusual agricultural attractiveness. Its beautiful prairies and oak openings, constituting an island in a sea of forest that swept otherwise practically unbroken from the Cascades to the Pacific,<sup>22</sup> made it the ideal land of the pioneer. Here was the perfect combination of fertile soil, timber in quantity

<sup>16</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 135, 142, 160, 173.

<sup>17</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, *Transactions*, 1880, p. 49.

<sup>18</sup> H. K. Hines, *Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest*, p. 87.

<sup>19</sup> Slocum Report, in *House Committee Rept.* no. 101, 25 Cong., 3 sess., p. 40.

<sup>20</sup> A. Simpson, *Oregon Territory*, p. 38.

<sup>21</sup> McLoughlin to Simpson, Mar. 20, 1844, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Journal, no. 1652 A.

<sup>22</sup> Isaiah Bowman, *Forest Physiography*, p. 146.

sufficient for all needs, yet not so heavy as to require years of clearing, and close at hand a river route that led to a market. American pioneers could not resist such allurements. Many of them undoubtedly believed in a vague way, when they set out for Oregon, that they had a mission to save it for their country from the clutches of the Hudson's Bay Company, and this may even have been a minor motive in putting some of them in motion. But once arrived on the Columbia, it was not patriotism but the call of the soil and the certainty of American land title that took them south of the river.

Such facts will explain also why Americans were so late in beginning settlement of the disputed country north of the Columbia. This was a heavily wooded area, as Dr. McLoughlin more than once pointed out to his superiors when they complained of the slow growth of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. There were few districts in it that were attractive from the point of view of the time, and of these the most eligible were already held by the two allied British corporations. It is not surprising then that as long as good land was to be had in the Willamette, which was at least until 1846, Americans were for the most part ready to leave the northern region in British possession.

More sensational explanations of this situation were heard in Congress. Again and again during the debates of the middle 'forties, the two houses were told that it was the Hudson's Bay Company which prevented settlement here by force, intimidation, or bribes. Such charges, made in exaggerated terms and always without proof, were of course baseless. But, on the other hand, it is reasonably clear that adventurous spirits among the Americans, or speculators who might have wished early to penetrate the northern district in search of mill or town sites, were restrained from going by the well-known opposition of the great fur-trading corporation. Mere words of discouragement, or insistence by so powerful a person as McLoughlin that the district was certain eventually to go to Great Britain, would ordinarily alone have been enough to do this. "The English residents", writes Lieutenant Howison, who visited the Columbia in the summer of 1846, "calculated with great certainty upon the river being adopted as the future dividing line, and looked with jealousy upon the American advance into the northern portion of the territory, which had some influence in restraining emigration."<sup>23</sup> McLoughlin, it is fair to say, emphatically denied opposition of any kind. Reporting to the British consul general in the Sandwich

<sup>23</sup> *House Misc. Doc.* no. 29, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 4.

Islands in March, 1845, the facts of the well-known Williamson episode,<sup>24</sup> he said,

As it has been asserted by Gentlemen of high character in the Senate of the United States that the Hudson's Bay Company had opposed the settlement of American citizens on the north bank of the Columbia River, I beg to inform you that there is not even a shadow of truth in the report. The Hudson's Bay Company has opposed the entrance of no settler into any part of the country, except within the limits of their improvements.<sup>25</sup>

It ought also to be said that shortly after this letter was written, having first tried to discourage M. T. Simmons from making the first permanent American settlement in Washington and having failed, McLoughlin turned about and gave him and his party generous assistance.<sup>26</sup> But undoubtedly in the Willamette community the Hudson's Bay Company was known to desire Americans to remain south of the Columbia River, which helped to keep them there, as is interestingly shown in the ebullition that followed the arrival of Lieutenant Howison and the U. S. *Shark* in the summer of 1846:

Before the arrival of the "Shark", [the Fort Vancouver officials report to London] the Americans with very few exceptions were settled in the Willamette and other districts to the Southward of the Columbia River, and from an impression that it would ultimately become the boundary of the United States possessions on the West side of the mountains, they never showed much inclination to take lands on the north side where moreover the country from being densely wooded, is by no means so attractive or favorable for settlement as the beautiful plains of the Willamette. The case was reversed when Captain Howison in the very unreserved communications he made to his Countrymen told them that the United States would never accept of any boundary short of 49° and that this settlement at Fort Vancouver and all the Country South of that line would certainly become United States property. This opinion resting on the authority of a person in whom they had confidence and falling in with their own prepossessions on the subject produced an electric effect in the settlements, which put the whole host of Yankee speculators and deputations in motion all rushing towards "Vancouver" to be in time for a snatch at the loaves and fishes, not a morsel of which was to be left for us, the rightful owners, as they made no secret of their intentions to take possession of every acre

<sup>24</sup> Williamson was a Willamette settler who attempted in February, 1845, to stake out a claim on land held by the Hudson's Bay Company near Fort Vancouver and was evicted at the order of McLoughlin. H. H. Bancroft, *Oregon*, I. 459.

<sup>25</sup> McLoughlin to Miller, Mar. 24, 1845, F. O. 5:459. McLoughlin unquestionably opposed, as a matter of business, settlement in sites on either side of the Columbia where trade of a petty sort might be carried on with Indians.

<sup>26</sup> C. A. Snowden, *History of Washington*, II. 429.

of land in this neighborhood in defiance of any rights thereto, on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>27</sup>

Politically, as well as economically, the Hudson's Bay Company successfully held off American snatchers after loaves and fishes north of the Columbia. Dr. McLoughlin was able to defeat every effort they made to extend their political control across the river. The facts of that contest need merely a brief summary. Prior to 1844 the pioneers' provisional government made no attempt to exercise authority north of the Columbia River, nor did it even fix a definite northern limit for the area over which it claimed jurisdiction. But in June, 1844, at the instance of the Clatsop Methodist mission it organized Clatsop County with boundaries extending northward across the Columbia River. McLoughlin, who happened at the time to be in Willamette Falls, promptly made protest, pointing out that not a single American settler was to be found north of the Columbia at this point, that to enact such a measure was simply to furnish "an argument to demagogues in both countries, to enable them to embarrass both Governments, and prevent the Boundary being settled",<sup>28</sup> and that since they could not, after all, determine matters of diplomacy "it was not good policy for them to start subjects which might lead to difficulties, but limit their legislation to what the circumstances of their case actually required, so as to keep peace and order among them". His argument prevailed, and an amendatory act was passed which struck off from "any counties heretofore organized" the parts lying north of the Columbia River.<sup>29</sup> But this concession proved unpopular in the community, for it was held to constitute a recognition of British claims to the Columbia River boundary, and at its December session the legislature passed a new measure declaring Oregon Territory to extend all the way to 54° 40'. Since the provisional government made no attempt to exert authority north of the Columbia, however, this resolution was hardly more than an expression of sentiment. But by the summer of 1845 it had become apparent that a common control was necessary for the preservation of order and mutual good relations, and to this end a compact was entered into between the Hudson's Bay Company, representing the British side of the river, and the provisional government, representing the American. By the terms of this treaty the fur-trading corporation agreed to take a hand in the provisional gov-

<sup>27</sup> Board of Management at Fort Vancouver to Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, Nov. 2, 1846, F. O. 5:481. For Lieutenant Howison's version see *House Misc. Doc.* no. 29, 30 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 18, 19.

<sup>28</sup> McLoughlin to Simpson, Mar. 20, 1845, F. O. 5:443.

<sup>29</sup> F. O. 5:440.

ernment and to pay taxes. In return it was left in actual control of administration in the region north of the Columbia, and this area, which the provisional legislature in a hostile spirit had just voted to divide into two districts bearing the names of Lewis and Clark, was at McLoughlin's demand, after a heated debate and close division, organized as a single district bearing the name of Vancouver. By this compact, as a careful student of it has keenly observed,<sup>30</sup> McLoughlin was able to maintain the character of the territory north of the Columbia River as the special preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company, and such was its status as long as the boundary question remained unsettled. Lord Aberdeen was well aware of these facts, and, in conceding to the United States the line of the forty-ninth parallel, he understood that he was surrendering a district which politically as well as economically was dominated by British colonists.<sup>31</sup>

But it would be a mistake now to conclude that the Oregon pioneers did not influence the boundary treaty at all. They did influence it both indirectly and directly. How much they did it by way of modifying British public opinion is a difficult matter to determine. No doubt their presence on the Willamette in growing numbers was a factor enabling the British Cabinet in 1846 to make concessions toward a settlement which would not have been possible before. But on the other hand the London *Times* was well aware that Americans were settled only on the south side of the Columbia, that the disputed region north of the river was in Hudson's Bay Company control, and that to concede the forty-ninth parallel was to surrender important British vested interests.<sup>32</sup> As a potential military force<sup>33</sup> in case of war the Oregon pioneers aroused British apprehension,<sup>34</sup> and perhaps that helped to produce concessions which made a peaceful settlement possible. But such an hypothesis is somewhat weakened by the private correspondence exchanged between the leaders of the British Cabinet, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Metcalfe in

<sup>30</sup> R. C. Clark, "Last Step in Provisional Government", in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XVI. 313.

<sup>31</sup> The Hudson's Bay Company made a practice of submitting to the British Foreign Office copies of correspondence from Oregon on matters of political or diplomatic interest. See McLoughlin to Simpson, Mar. 20, 1845, F. O. 5:443; Pelly to the Foreign Office, Mar. 28, 1845, F. O. 5:440; McLoughlin to Pelly, Nov. 15, 1844, F. O. 5:444.

<sup>32</sup> London *Times*, May 9, Nov. 20, 1845; Mar. 16, 1846. But see Joseph Schafer, "Oregon Pioneers", in *Turner Essays in American History*, p. 35.

<sup>33</sup> For this suggestion and the phrasing of it I am indebted to Professor F. J. Turner.

<sup>34</sup> Peel to Aberdeen, Feb. 23, 1845, Peel MSS., British Museum.

Canada,<sup>35</sup> from which it appears that they realized that if war came it would be decided, and the fate of Oregon would be decided, not in the Far West, but in Canada, on the Great Lakes, and on the sea. Even in Oregon the Hudson's Bay Company in case of war would not have been helpless, as it effectively controlled ammunition, and could count on the support of the British navy, and at least a part of the eighty thousand Indians under its domination in the Pacific Northwest. More effective as a factor in the negotiations was the danger, recognized by both governments, that local conflicts between the pioneers and the Hudson's Bay Company might develop into a general conflagration. No doubt this had considerable influence in hastening a settlement on the basis of mutual concessions.

But there is a positive contribution of real significance which the Oregon pioneers made to the boundary settlement. It is that they led the Hudson's Bay Company to shift its main depot from the old and famous site on the Columbia River to a new location at the tip of Vancouver Island. This they did by arousing in the mind of George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, fears for the safety of the valuable stores concentrated at Fort Vancouver. Simpson profoundly distrusted the Willamette settlers. In his private correspondence he persistently classed all of them together as "desperate characters". He seems to have considered the provisional government of the same stripe, for when in 1845 he reported that the Clatsop Point settlers had hesitantly given in their adhesion to it he observed: "Well was it for them that they did so, as this infant Government appears to be very energetic, the Bowie knife, Revolving Pistol and Rifle taking the place of the Constable's baton in bringing refractory delinquents to justice."<sup>36</sup> Emigrants en route to Oregon being of the same stamp as those already there, he was concerned for the safety of Fort Hall and warned its chief officer in the spring of 1846 to be on guard against pillaging.<sup>37</sup> Fort Vancouver's vast stores he proposed to put as far as possible out of reach of harm.

Even before the major migrations to Oregon had begun, while Jason Lee was still preaching the way for them in the East, Simpson scented danger and began stirring the London office to action.

Missions [he reported in 1839] are now established at three different points on the Columbia, and every Trapper who straggles away from his

<sup>35</sup> See particularly the Peel MSS. for 1845-1846.

<sup>36</sup> Simpson to the Governor, etc., of the Hudson's Bay Company, June 20, 1845, War Office, 1: 552.

<sup>37</sup> Simpson to Richard Grant, June 27, 1846.

party, seats himself down on the Wilhamet, now with our retired servants and Indians forming a Settlement of about 100 families; and from the measures that have been taken by Missionary and Emigration Societies in the States, it is confidently expected a large body of settlers will find their way there by sea and land this season. While their means were small, and without external support, they were quiet and orderly, confining themselves to their Agricultural pursuits; but as their numerical force encreases, tranquillity it is to be feared will give way, and composed as their society at present is, and is likely to be, for some time to come, of men of desperate character and fortune, we count on the law of the strongest becoming the law of the land. In that case, our tenure of the trade, and of the Establishments on the Columbia river, will be both dangerous and uncertain, unless the boundary be immediately determined; as every citizen of the United States, who knows the country even by name, contends we are intruders, without a shadow of right to be there, and among the Wilhamet settlers few will be scrupulous as to the mode or means of asserting their imaginary rights.<sup>38</sup>

"We think", replies the London office, instructing McLoughlin regarding a new main base, "the object becomes more necessary as the influx of strangers to the Columbia increases."<sup>39</sup>

But McLoughlin was slow to act, for he had become old at Fort Vancouver, and was tied there by private interests. Fort Victoria was, therefore, not under construction until the spring of 1843, and it required Simpson's intervention again to bring about the actual shift of base in 1845. When the latter learned on New Year's Day, 1845, that President Tyler had urged Congress to facilitate emigration to Oregon, foreseeing that this meant a large increase in migration the next summer, he immediately sent directions to McLoughlin.

From what we know [he wrote] of the character of the people proceeding to settle west of the mountains, I think we cannot be too much on our guard against lawless aggression. I have, therefore, strongly to recommend that no more goods be kept in depôt at Vancouver than may be absolutely necessary to meet immediate demands, and that the reserved Outfit<sup>40</sup> for the Columbia River be kept at Fort Victoria and all goods intended for the coast at Fort Simpson, so as to be as much as possible out of reach of the troublesome people by whom you are surrounded at present. I would, moreover, recommend that the furs be collected at Fort Victoria instead of the Columbia, and that in future, the ships for England take their departure from thence, while the ships from hence will proceed thither direct (before entering the Columbia

<sup>38</sup> Simpson to London Office, July 8, 1839, H. B. Co. Archives, Journal, no. 1406.

<sup>39</sup> London Office to McLoughlin, Dec. 31, 1839, H. B. Co. Archives, General Letter Book, no. 625.

<sup>40</sup> The Hudson's Bay Company kept always at Fort Vancouver a year's supply of goods ahead of current requirements in order to be insured against the chance of wreck of the annual supply ship from England. This was the reserved outfit.



River) depositing there all reserve Outfits, merely taking to Vancouver the articles required for immediate distribution or sale.<sup>41</sup>

Simpson's judgment on the Willamette settlers and on their government was of course warped by prejudice, but his fears for the safety of the stores at Vancouver were warranted. Emigrants to Oregon in this period were no longer God-fearing New England missionaries. Predominantly they were from Missouri and states neighbor to her—communities notorious for turbulence and readiness to self-help. Missouri contributed more than a majority<sup>42</sup>—the state that had just expelled from their homes fifteen thousand Mormon settlers in the dead of winter with a loss of property estimated by Joseph Smith at a million dollars—the state that was soon to win notice again by the exploits of its border ruffians. Southern uplanders, contentious, ignorant, and suspicious, they went to Oregon inflamed against the Hudson's Bay Company by the charges of such men as Kelley, Slocum, and Spaulding, printed in government documents, that it oppressed American settlers in the Willamette, or the atrocious accusation of Benton that it incited Indians to murder American trappers, five hundred of whom had already been slain.<sup>43</sup> Powerful emigrant trains arriving in Oregon destitute and starving, and believing such tales, were capable of attempting any mischief, and it was partly to avert disaster that McLoughlin gave such generous aid to the companies of 1843 and 1844.<sup>44</sup> Residence for a year or two in the Willamette dispelled much hostility, but there were always abundant opportunities for friction in the economic relations of monopoly-hating pioneers with a foreign corporation that dominated, even if benevolently, the life of the community. Particular soreness was felt that a corporation whose charter was believed to grant the right to hold land only for trading purposes had engrossed many of the choicest farming, mill, and town site locations in the country, and this jealousy extended even to the Company's retired

<sup>41</sup> Simpson to McLoughlin, Jan. 1, 1845, H. B. Co. Archives, Simpson Letter Books.

<sup>42</sup> McLoughlin to London Office, Nov. 20, 1844, H. B. Co. Archives, Journal, no. 1711. Lieut. Wm. Peel wrote to Gordon (Sept. 27, 1845, F. O. 5:459): "They (American settlers) are almost all from the Western Provinces and chiefly from the Missouri." Dr. White wrote to the Secretary of War in Washington at the time of the Williamson episode that too great a portion of Oregon's population came from the Western states "for one moment's safety in our present condition". See Bancroft, *Oregon*, I. 460.

<sup>43</sup> McLoughlin to Simpson, Mar. 20, 1845, F. O. 5:443.

<sup>44</sup> McLoughlin to J. H. Pelly, July 12, 1846, H. B. Co. Archives, Journal, no. 1721.

servants in the Willamette. A curious echo of Missouri Mormon troubles sounds out of a report brought to McLoughlin early in 1845 of an alleged attempt by some thirty or forty Americans to organize a party whose object was to drive out of the Willamette all the Canadians and others having Indian or half-breed families who held lands there.<sup>45</sup> Similar feeling animated the attempts of bold spirits like Williamson, Alderman, McNamee,<sup>46</sup> and others to stake out claims on lands occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company near Fort Vancouver, and it eventually found successful expression after the Oregon Treaty in the gradual seizure by American settlers, treaty terms notwithstanding, of much the greater part of all the lands and much of the cattle held by the Company and its subsidiary in the region between the Columbia River and the forty-ninth parallel.<sup>47</sup> Beside the danger of spoliation was that of incendiarism, ruffians like Alderman and Chapman, who nursed grievances, having openly threatened to set fire at opportunity to the premises at Fort Vancouver.<sup>48</sup> McLoughlin, as well as Simpson, saw these dangers and took such measures as he could to forestall them, strengthening the defenses of Fort Vancouver in 1844, appealing for naval protection to British authorities in 1845,<sup>49</sup> and, when that brought no response, yielding to the wish of the orderly element among the Americans that he give in his adhesion to the provisional government. Simpson's measure was more thorough, and it is easy to agree with him in his formal report of it to London headquarters that it was required.

The proceedings in Congress [he observes] and other reports in the public prints, which find their way to the Wallamette by every opportunity, seem to influence the minds of the great body of the most ignorant settlers against us, who look upon us as intruders, and if they were not overawed in some degree by the semblance of law that exists, and a feeling that we are in a situation to resent any aggression that might be openly attempted, there would be no salvation, either for the lives or

<sup>45</sup> McLoughlin to Simpson, Mar. 3, 1845, F. O. 5: 443; McLoughlin to Governor and Committee, Mar. 28, 1845, H. B. Co. Archives, Journal, no. 1742; Douglas to Governor and Committee, Dec. 7, 1846, F. O. 5: 481.

<sup>46</sup> *Ante*, p. 688. For the Alderman incident, see McLoughlin to Gordon, Sept. 15, 1845, F. O. 5: 459. For the McNamee incident, see Board of Management to H. B. Co., Nov. 2, 1846, F. O. 5: 481.

<sup>47</sup> These spoliations are described in the testimony taken by a commission under the treaty of 1863 "for the final settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies", and they are in part the basis of the award of \$650,000 made to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869. See Report of British and American Joint Commission, 14 vols., in Library of Congress.

<sup>48</sup> McLoughlin to H. B. Co., Nov. 20, 1845, in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI, 112.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* See also Lieutenant Howison's Report, in *House Misc. Doc.* no. 29, 30 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 18, 19.

property of British Subjects. Notwithstanding a certain degree of popularity, which the Company's officers enjoy, arising from the hospitalities and assistance that have been rendered to almost every American who has come to the Country, the Honble. Company as a body is looked upon with much jealous rancour and hostility, leading to serious apprehensions on the minds of the Council that the Depot at Fort Vancouver, and the other posts within reach of these people, are not safe from plunder. These apprehensions have determined us on giving directions that the business in the neighborhood of the Wallamette Falls be contracted as much as possible, and that the great bulk of the property in depot at [Fort] Vancouver be removed to Fort Victoria, which is intended to be made the principal depot of the Country, as you will observe by the instructions contained in the accompanying copy of my despatch . . . .<sup>50</sup>

There were, to be sure, other considerations, ordinary requirements of business, that demanded the creation of a new main depot away from the Columbia River. The decline of the fur trade in the valley of the Columbia,<sup>51</sup> the perils of the bar at the entrance of the river, and uncertainties as to the boundary settlement were powerful factors dictating the change. Eventually they would have brought it about even without the intervention of the Americans in the Willamette. Indeed, the Hudson's Bay Company had been contemplating the transfer for at least ten years. But it required the menace of the Willamette settlers to crystallize these factors into action, and action just when the boundary negotiations were at a stage to be influenced by it.

So quietly was this shift of base made that hardly any American understood at the time what was happening; but it did not escape the notice of Lord Aberdeen. He knew of it in 1845 and welcomed it for the promise it offered of a peaceful solution of the Oregon controversy. Sincerely desirous of composing this critical issue he had reconciled himself by March, 1844, to substantially the terms of settlement later laid down in the treaty of 1846.<sup>52</sup> But he had found it impossible to win over Peel, the prime minister, or the remainder of the Cabinet.<sup>53</sup> They no doubt feared the clamor which

<sup>50</sup> Simpson to Hudson's Bay Company, June 20, 1845, W. O. 1: 552.

<sup>51</sup> This important subject is reserved for a future study.

<sup>52</sup> Aberdeen to Peel, Mar. 4, 1844, Aberdeen MSS. This letter was found by Dr. Schafer, the scholar of the Oregon question, in the Aberdeen MSS., and was in part printed in his article, "British Attitude toward the Oregon Question", in this *Review*, XVI. 296. Dr. Schafer seems to believe that this letter represented the views of the British Cabinet in 1844, as well as those of Lord Aberdeen. That would make it, if true, a document of first importance. But it does not represent the views of the Cabinet, as the correspondence presented in the following note shows.

<sup>53</sup> Peel to Aberdeen, Sept. 28, 1844, Peel MSS. "I incline to arbitration rather than any important concession beyond former proposals. If I recollect

an active opposition would raise over what was virtually a surrender to the demands of the United States. The Cabinet was still unpersuaded when the news came in 1845 of the shift of base of the Hudson's Bay Company. That event put a new political face on the situation. The Hudson's Bay Company had unwittingly revealed by its move that it no longer regarded the Columbia River as a vital trade route or an indispensable outlet for its western provinces to the sea; that a watercourse which looked imposing on the maps was of so little real promise for anything but a fur-trade commerce that it was being relegated by the British interest which best knew its potentialities to secondary uses. To yield this river to the United States could not involve serious national loss, nor under the circumstances lay the government open to partizan attack or national outcry. And surrender of the Columbia was the key to the peaceful settlement of the Oregon boundary.

Previous Oregon negotiations had all gone to shipwreck on the issue of the Columbia River. American negotiators had steadily sought as their prime objective in Oregon diplomacy a share of the harbors in and about Puget Sound, the only safe harbors on the Pacific to which at this time the United States had any claim. To obtain these however, in satisfactory status, American territory must embrace both banks of the Columbia River and extend beyond it to the forty-ninth parallel. Great Britain, on the other hand, was determined to hold one bank of the river which was considered the St. Lawrence of the West, the only outlet for the western provinces of British North America to the sea.<sup>54</sup> The mere territory between the Columbia and the forty-ninth parallel was not a real obstacle to

right there are on record in the F. O. very strong opinions, both with reference to considerations of policy and justice, as to the impropriety of carrying concession beyond certain defined limits. I should not be afraid of a good deal of preliminary bluster on the part of the Americans. The best answer to it would be to direct the *Collingwood* to make a friendly visit when she has leisure, to the mouth of the Columbia." As late as Apr. 18, 1845, Lord Aberdeen instructed Pakenham (F. O. 5: 423) to add to previous offers to the American government merely that of allowing "all ports within the disputed territory south of 49° N. L. whether on the main land or on Vancouver's Island to be made perpetually free Ports", and adds: "Beyond this degree of compromise Her Majesty's Gov't could not consent to go. Should you therefore have an opportunity of making such a proposal, and should it be rejected, you will have no alternative but to recur to the demand for arbitration." Privately he wrote on the same day (Aberdeen MSS.) that if Buchanan should propose the 49th degree to the sea, "I should not like to regard his proposal as perfectly inadmissible. It is possible that by some modifications it might be accepted, though I do not think it at all likely, and of course you will give no encouragement to the notion, but recur to arbitration in the event of our terms being rejected".

<sup>54</sup> London *Times*, Jan. 3, 17, 1846.

a settlement, for it was held by British negotiators and public in no high esteem.<sup>55</sup> Nor did Great Britain consider it essential to shut the United States off from all good harbors on the Pacific—its proposals of 1826 and 1844 are evidence of that. Britain's determination in all the earlier negotiations not to retreat from the line of the Columbia was due to the exalted conception which its Foreign Office had of the river's value as a highway of commerce.

This exaggerated notion the Hudson's Bay Company had naturally taken no pains to dispel so long as the fur trade on the Columbia was prosperous and growing. On the contrary, its officers had wrought diligently to confirm it. That appears clearly in the following excerpts from a letter written by Governor Simpson to the British Foreign Office in January, 1826, in response to a list of queries submitted to him by H. U. Addington. Whatever may be the significance of the queries,<sup>56</sup> no one could fail to be impressed with the reply. Indeed it is not impossible that in the emphatic presentation of the value of the Columbia highway here made we have an explanation of the failure of the negotiations of 1826—the last negotiations prior to the critical ones of the 'forties.

6. Query:—Is the Country northward of the Columbia favourable for Land and water communication?

Answer:—The Country to the Northward of the Columbia is not favorable for Water communication with the Coast on account of the impetuosity of the current at particular Seasons in the different Rivers, and frequent chains of Rapids and dangerous falls, and the communication with the Coast by Land is quite impracticable, on account of the mountainous character of the Country, which is covered with almost impenetrable Forests.

7. Query:—For what extent of Country does the Columbia River furnish an outlet for Trade? Specify this exactly and according to the latest and most accurate accounts.

Answer:—The Columbia is the only navigable River to the interior from the Coast, we are acquainted with, it is therefore the only certain outlet for the Company's trade west of the Mountains, comprehending that of thirteen Establishments now occupied.

10. Query:—What comparison does Frasers River bear in magnitude and capacity for the purposes of Trade with the Columbia? Is the native population on its banks dense or not—well disposed or not—warlike or pacific?

<sup>55</sup> Aberdeen to Gurney, Feb. 20, 1842, printed in Lady Frances Balfour, *Life of Aberdeen*, II, 137. Lord Aberdeen refers to the region as "a few miles of pine swamp". London *Times*, Oct. 1, 1845, and Mar. 5, 1846.

<sup>56</sup> More evidence is needed before venturing an opinion on the general drift of these queries. The negotiation of 1826 is the one in which the British government first advanced to the offer of the enclave north of the Columbia River.

Answer:—Frazers river is not so large as the Columbia and not to be compared with it for the purposes of Trade, the depth of water found at its entrance was about 3 fathom: the banks are generally high and steep, covered with Timber, and such places as are sufficiently low and clear for the site of an Establishment bearing marks of having been overflowed in the Seasons of high water. About 70 miles from its entrance the navigation is interrupted by Rapids and Falls, so as to render it nearly impossible, and according to the best information I have been able to collect, the banks of the River about 150 Miles up, form precipices where the towing line cannot be used, and the Current so impetuous at certain Seasons, as to render it impossible to use either the Setting Pole or Paddle, Canoes being the only craft that can attempt to stem the Current at any Season. . . .

11. Query:—Could the Fur produce to the North of Frazers river and West of the Rocky Mountains be conveniently transported by means of this River for Shipment to other Countries?

Answer:—From all the information I have been able to collect respecting Frazers river, it is not my opinion that it affords a communication by which the interior Country can be supplied from the Coast, or that it can be depended on as an outlet for the returns of the interior. I will further altho' unasked take the liberty of giving it as my opinion that if the Navigation of the Columbia is not free to the Hudson's Bay Company, and that the Territory to the Northward of it is not secured to them, they must abandon and curtail their Trade in some parts, and probably be constrained to relinquish it on the West side of the Rocky Mountains altogether.<sup>57</sup>

Nineteen years after this letter was written its author was executing the retreat which we have noticed from the Columbia to Vancouver Island. Lord Aberdeen at the same time was seeking escape from an impasse in the Oregon negotiations which Pakenham had brought about at Washington by cavalierly rejecting instead of taking *ad referendum* Polk's proposal to draw the Oregon boundary at the forty-ninth parallel. Under these circumstances Lord Aberdeen wrote to Peel:

If it should ever be possible to effect a settlement between ourselves upon terms, I think the following might perhaps be accepted; and I should be very unwilling to concede more. I would carry the 49th parallel of latitude as the boundary *to the sea*, and give to the United States the line of Coast to the South of this degree. This would leave us in possession of the whole of Vancouver's Island, and the northern shore of the entrance into the Straits of John de Fuca. The navigation of the Columbia to its most remote accessible point, should be common to both parties at all times; and all the ports between the Columbia and the 49th parallel, whether on the main land, or in the island, should be Free Ports. I believe that this would give us everything really worth contending for, and it would seem to coincide with the notions of the

<sup>57</sup> Simpson to Addington, Jan. 5, 1826, H. B. Co. Archives, Corr. with Govt., no. 721.

Hudson's Bay Company, who have lately established their principal settlement on Vancouver's Island.<sup>58</sup>

These were the terms, slightly modified, which in the spring of 1846 Lord Aberdeen wrote into the final Oregon settlement. He had translated the Hudson's Bay Company's retreat from the Columbia into a treaty of peace.

American westward expansion was in large measure the work of rough frontiersmen, men who at the cutting edge of civilization had developed habits of direct action and self-help. Such men were hard to control anywhere, and in the Spanish border-lands, weakly held and badly governed, they quickly brought on revolution and annexation to the United States. But West Florida, Texas, and California are not Oregon. In the Pacific Northwest American pioneers were confronted by sterner stuff than Spaniards or Mexicans—the British government and the Hudson's Bay Company. Direct action and turbulence were there held remarkably in leash by the power and wisdom, in considerable part, of a single great corporation. But the Hudson's Bay Company, much feared, was itself afraid. It is a phenomenon by no means new, two hostile elements facing and fearing each other. In Oregon this led, for once, not to war but to peace.

FREDERICK MERK.

<sup>58</sup> Aberdeen to Peel, Oct. 17, 1845, Peel MSS., British Museum. See also Everett to Aberdeen, Jan. 28, 1846, Aberdeen MSS. Everett, who had lately returned to America from his ministry at the Court of St. James, wrote to Aberdeen freely on the Oregon question, which their cordial friendship permitted him to do:

"Again the 'Times' [London *Times*, Jan. 3, 1846] greatly errs in representing the Columbia River and its mouth as the line of communication between Hudson's Bay and China. To a party having settlements on the lower waters of the Columbia this river and its mouth are of course the outlet and a very poor outlet. But of the territory north of 49 it is not the outlet on account of the falls. I am well advised by practical men, that if the 49th degree is adopted as the Boundary, not the smallest part of your trade would descend the Columbia, although the navigation should be free. The pass through the mountains used by the Hudson's Bay people is north of 49; and all their trade both of export and import, would of preference pass the Straits of Fuca. I learned from Your Lordship a year ago, that, although you have at present the free range of the Country, the Hudson's Bay Company have been removing their principal station from the banks of the Columbia river to the south end of Vancouver's Island. I consider it even probable that *we* shall desert the mouth of the Columbia for some port within the Straits of Fuca."



## THE LOUISVILLE AND NASHVILLE RAILROAD 1861-1865

RAILROAD building in the Southwest during the decade preceding the Civil War had as one of its results the completion of two north-and-south lines connecting the interior of the South with the Ohio River. One of these lines was the Mobile and Ohio from Mobile to Columbus, Kentucky, twenty miles below Cairo; the other was the Louisville and Nashville connecting the two cities from which it derived its name. The Mobile and Ohio was essentially a Southern enterprise, designed to draw the trade of the Northwest to Mobile. The Louisville and Nashville had been promoted and was controlled by Louisville men and had been built in the expectation that its profits would mostly be derived from the carrying of Southern freight to Louisville. It was, therefore, the pariah of Southern roads at which both Southern politicians and Southern business men were inclined to look askance. Both roads were completed on the eve of the Civil War and from their location afforded highways of invasion for that section which was strong enough to utilize them. When the Civil War resolved itself into an invasion of the Southwest both roads were utilized by the North. But for this purpose the Louisville and Nashville was far more important than the Mobile and Ohio for the reason that the latter was paralleled by rivers, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, and the Mississippi, which afforded an easier and safer approach to the interior than did the railroad. The Louisville and Nashville, on the other hand, ran through a region that was unprovided with navigable rivers and even with roads. Moreover, Louisville as a base of operations for Northern armies had manifest advantages over Columbus, notwithstanding the fact that the Illinois Central had its terminus at Cairo. From the beginning, then, it was upon the Louisville and Nashville that the burden fell of transporting men and supplies into the South. It afforded the North a direct entrance into the seceded states and served throughout the war as an efficient instrument for the constant supply of reinforcements. Herein lay the unique contribution of the road to the success of the Union cause.

At the beginning of the war the Louisville and Nashville had 286 miles of road, all but forty-five of which lay in the avowedly neutral state of Kentucky. The main line connected Louisville and Nashville, but from Bowling Green a branch line ran southwest-

(700)

ward to the state line, connecting there with a Tennessee road to Memphis. It was heavily in debt and it resembled other Southern roads in having an equipment that its most enthusiastic friend could have described only as inadequate.<sup>1</sup> It had been built partly with the aid of Tennessee and by the terms of its charter a certain number of its directors were required to be from that state. Its president was James Guthrie, one of the most energetic and persistent business men of ante-bellum days.

Self-willed, dominating, and masterful, Guthrie personally determined the policy of the road during the war, and his personality therefore is a matter of importance to the historian. He had been a lifelong Democrat in a Whig state, had made himself conspicuous by twenty years' service in the legislature, had been repeatedly the candidate of his party for the United States Senate, and had served as Secretary of the Treasury under Pierce—having Jefferson Davis as one of his colleagues. He was a believer in states' rights and was entirely Southern in his political sympathies and sentiments. He had been a prominent candidate for the presidency in the Democratic convention at Charleston in 1860, and had bitterly opposed the election of Lincoln in the ensuing campaign. He had been one of Kentucky's representatives at the abortive peace conference in Washington and after the break-up of the conference had returned to Kentucky declaring that the North was responsible for the failure.<sup>2</sup> In a number of speeches following the inauguration of Lincoln, he had declared his sympathy for the South, his distrust of Lincoln, and his belief that the South had the right of revolution, though he expressed himself as opposed to secession. He continued to work for compromise, and was the leading figure in the Border State Convention called by Kentucky, but his speeches indicated that if war came he would throw in his lot with the South.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It possessed 37 locomotives, 22 passenger cars, 9 baggage cars, and 260 freight cars; *Louisville Daily Democrat*, July 6, 1861. Its gauge was five feet, a fact which made it difficult to transfer Northern cars to it during the war, as Northern roads were of different gauge. Most Southern roads, however, were of five-foot gauge and thus Southern cars could readily be transferred to the Louisville and Nashville as the roads fell into the hands of the Union armies.

<sup>2</sup> *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Mar. 17, 1861. Speech by Guthrie at Louisville court-house, Mar. 16.

<sup>3</sup> A speech of Guthrie's at Louisville as reported in the *Democrat*, Apr. 19, 1861, is important as showing his views at the time. Speaking of Lincoln's inaugural address, he said: "I suspected it for, like the serpent, it spoke with a forked tongue." In another place occurs the following: "If the North comes to ravage our lands we will meet them as Kentuckians always meet their foes. We will meet them as Kentuckians should meet them, so long as there is a tree for a fortification or a foot of land for a freeman to stand on."

But Guthrie was a business man as well as a Southern Democrat, and his business interests gradually modified his political attitude. It became evident to him that in a civil war between North and South his road would probably be ruined. With one terminal in the South and the other in the North, it was bound to be a bone of contention between the opposing forces. If he took the side of the South, his road would certainly be confiscated; if he sided with the North, the Tennessee section would be confiscated by that state and even the Kentucky section would not go undamaged. It was probably such thoughts as these that caused Guthrie to champion the cause of the neutrality of Kentucky, as only in neutrality would his road be safe. When neutrality failed, Guthrie had to make his choice between North and South. He chose to cast in his lot with the North, and there can be little doubt that his business acumen rather than his political sympathies dictated the choice. At any rate, it gave the North an ally which contributed materially to its success.<sup>4</sup>

Justifying itself by Kentucky's attitude of neutrality, the Louisville and Nashville continued its carrying of freight both north and south during the spring and early summer of 1861. Business, in fact, was heavier over the road than ever before, and for two reasons. There had been crop failures in Georgia and Alabama in the preceding year and this called for an increased amount of provisions to be carried southward. When the Union forces assembled at Cairo, the Mobile and Ohio perforce ceased to carry provisions south and consequently the entire business fell to the Louisville and Nashville. At Louisville there was great agitation felt over the enormous amount of supplies going to the South, the fear being aroused that Louisville itself would be left without provisions. Attempts were made to tear up the tracks south of Louisville, and the Louisville and Nashville found it necessary to send guards ahead of the trains to protect them from violence.<sup>5</sup> So great, indeed, was the amount of freight that the road was finally compelled, April 29, to advertise that it would receive no more for the time being.<sup>6</sup> By

<sup>4</sup> Guthrie had a great many interests other than the Louisville and Nashville. He had invested in the various Kentucky railroads, particularly the Louisville and Frankfort, in Indiana railroads, and in a number of plank roads and turnpikes in Kentucky. Moreover, a considerable part of his fortune was tied up in Louisville real estate. All of this he would in all probability lose if he took the side of a losing cause.

<sup>5</sup> *Louisville Daily Journal*, Apr. 30, 1861. Report of Guthrie's speech at the court-house, Apr. 29. The fears of a famine at Louisville were somewhat alleviated by a report from an investigating committee that there were provisions on hand sufficient for ten years.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 29, 1861.

May 8, the congestion was relieved and the road was again carrying through freight to Nashville.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, May 2, the Treasury Department had issued its order forbidding the carrying of provisions and munitions into the Confederacy; but the trade was such a profitable one for the Louisville and Nashville that it refused to give it up, professing to believe that the order did not apply to a road in a neutral state.<sup>8</sup> The action of the Louisville and Nashville in disregarding the order met with strong disapproval from the North: the New York Central, the Erie, and the Pennsylvania roads refused to carry freight to Kentucky unless it was labelled "not contraband", and the surveyor of the port of New Albany forbade the sending of provisions across the river to Louisville. The Louisville and Nashville continued its shipments, however, Guthrie having made up his mind to keep on with the trade until the government specifically forbade, in which event he planned to refer the entire matter to the courts.<sup>9</sup> On June 12 the United States positively forbade the shipment of merchandise to any point in insurrection and the collector of the port at Louisville called upon Guthrie to comply. Instead of complying, Guthrie called a meeting of the directors of the road, including those from Tennessee. They at once arranged for a friendly suit to get the matter before the court and pending a decision went on with their shipments, notwithstanding that the collector threatened to seize all shipments made without his permission.<sup>10</sup> On July 11, Judge Muir of the Jefferson circuit court handed down a decision that the order was constitutional and the road had finally to make its choice between submission or defiance.<sup>11</sup> It chose to submit, and from this time on the road co-operated with the United States in its war measures.

The acquiescence of the Louisville and Nashville was for several months merely nominal. Great quantities of provisions continued to be carried into the Confederacy. Sometimes forged permissions from the collector were used, sometimes the destination was changed after the shipment was started. The most frequent device, how-

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, May 8, 1861.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, May 9, 1861. Prentice, the editor of the *Journal*, protested against the order and urged that a deputation should be sent to Lincoln in opposition. He did not deny the legality of the order, however.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, May 9, 14, 21, 1861.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, July 4, 1861.

<sup>11</sup> The text of Muir's decision is given in the *Democrat* of July 12. The dissenting opinion of Judge Logan is given in the same paper of July 13. The *Louisville Daily Courier* of July 9 contains a communication from Guthrie justifying his conduct.

ever, was to take the supplies by wagon to some station south of Louisville and there transfer them to the railroad. A great amount of freight was sent to the towns near the state line and thence smuggled across the border.<sup>12</sup> This illegal trade had at least the passive connivance of the Louisville and Nashville officials. Said the *Louisville Democrat* in its issue of August 31: "We paid a visit yesterday to the Nashville Railroad Depot, and found it crammed with freight. Freights of all kinds, including a large lot of whiskey and coffee, were there. It is astonishing how important the trade of sundry little one-horse towns along the line of the Nashville Railroad has become." The illicit trade was, in fact, an open scandal known to all men, but the government was powerless to prevent it and the Louisville and Nashville had little interest in doing so.<sup>13</sup> Undoubtedly the supplies that found their way South over the Nashville road contributed materially to the outfitting and maintenance of the Confederate army at this time.

The first result of Guthrie's policy of submission to the United States government was a conflict with Tennessee. Suspecting that the rolling-stock of the Louisville and Nashville was being concentrated in Louisville, General Anderson, commanding the Tennessee state troops, had on July 1 demanded from Guthrie more equipment for the Tennessee section. This demand Guthrie refused, "there being no provision in the charter to the effect that the company should be subject to the military orders of Tennessee". Anderson thereupon on the fourth seized the freight and passenger trains then in Tennessee and sent word to Guthrie that he would release a passenger train north for each one Guthrie would send into Tennessee. If this agreement should be made, there would be no interruption to passenger service between Louisville and Nashville. This proposal he modified the same day, by saying he would keep all the engines and cars he then had but would pledge himself to let any others return that Guthrie might send down. This offer was rejected by Guthrie on the ground that Anderson's pledge did not guarantee the trains from detention by authorities other than himself.

<sup>12</sup> This evasion of the law is adequately treated by E. M. Coulter in his "Effect of Secession on the Commerce of the Mississippi Valley" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, III. 275, and in his "Commerce with the Confederacy", *ibid.*, V. 377.

<sup>13</sup> An editorial in the *Democrat* of Aug. 16 complained that "with every precaution not a day passes that provisions and manufactures do not go from this port to some station on the road, and thence to Dixie land". Sept. 1, it noted that the freight drays had the streets of Louisville blocked for the squares around the depot. A great deal of this freight, it insinuated, had come from Cincinnati, although the Cincinnati merchants were loud in their criticism of Louisville's conduct.

On the fifth Governor Harris himself telegraphed Guthrie promising that the Tennessee state authorities would not further interfere with the road otherwise than to keep what had already been seized. In a long telegram, Guthrie replied that the road had only twenty locomotives available, the others being in the shops for overhauling necessitated by the tremendous freight and passenger traffic of the two preceding months. He maintained that the company had always done its duty by Tennessee and expressed his surprise at the seizure. He conceded that the company might detach one train exclusively for Tennessee business and closed by insisting that the road could not be operated by two parties at the same time, and that he could not consent to the seizure and detention.

On the twelfth Harris replied to the effect that the necessity of protecting Tennessee was his paramount consideration. He feared, he said, Federal use of the road despite the policy of the directors. He promised that if a fair proportion of the rolling-stock were kept in Tennessee he would protect the road, pay for all services, and make no confiscation. On the fifteenth Guthrie replied, saying that there was no possibility of the road being used by Federal troops. He protested that General Anderson had no authority over the management of the road; force should not have been used. He demanded compensation for the seizure and insisted that he could not operate the road with Anderson or anyone else. This reply was evidently begging the point at issue, the question of the rolling-stock, and the only reply Harris made was a telegram acknowledging receipt of Guthrie's. Tennessee kept what she had seized—five locomotives, three passenger and baggage cars, and about seventy freight cars. It was the first of many losses the Louisville and Nashville was to undergo as a result of adherence to the Union.<sup>14</sup>

As a result of the conflict with Tennessee in July, the Louisville and Nashville had lost forty-five miles of road and an appreciable percentage of its equipment; in September it was to lose still more to the Confederate army. On September 18, 1861, General Simon Bolivar Buckner, "of the so-called Confederate States", having advanced into Kentucky at the head of a small army, seized the entire line of the Louisville and Nashville from the state line north to Lebanon Junction, leaving only thirty miles unappropriated. About half of the rolling-stock remaining to the Louisville and Nashville

<sup>14</sup> *The Supplementary Report of the President and Directors of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad*, October, 1861, gives the history of the conflict with Tennessee. It is also reported in the *Democrat* in the daily issues July 1 to July 16.

after the Tennessee seizure fell into his hands.<sup>15</sup> Having seized the road and its equipment, Buckner wrote an open letter to Guthrie informing him that it was his purpose to reopen traffic on the Louisville and Nashville lately suspended by the President of the United States. The road had been built, he said, largely by county subscriptions raised by taxation, but by the suspension of trade with the South the people were deprived of the benefits of the road and consequently of the ability to meet their taxes. This injustice he proposed to remedy by reopening trade with the Confederacy. He would continue to recognize Guthrie as president, would keep an account of earnings and expenses of the section operated by himself, and would transmit the balance, if any, to the company on condition it should be "applied to the purpose contemplated by the charter".<sup>16</sup> Guthrie also received a letter from R. H. Caldwell, depot agent at Russellville, saying that at the suggestion of stockholders and friends of the road he had gone to Bowling Green to look into the affairs of the company. He found a general desire that he should take charge of the affairs of the road and operate it within the Confederate lines, and he asked for authority to do so. The propositions of both Buckner and Caldwell, who were acting in harmony, were rejected by the directors at Louisville. "It would have been giving aid and comfort to the enemy", said Guthrie.<sup>17</sup>

That Guthrie could refer to the South as an "enemy" showed how far he had travelled from his position in March and April. The interest of his road, the Tennessee seizures, and Buckner's wholesale confiscation had hardened him into a thoroughgoing Unionist. From this time on he consorted with the Union authorities and placed his entire road at their disposal for putting down the Confederacy.<sup>18</sup> General W. T. Sherman led out a force of Home Guards from Louisville and cleared the track as far as Eliza-

<sup>15</sup> *Supplementary Report No. 2*, October, 1861. Buckner left to the road 22 locomotives, 74 freight cars, 5 baggage cars, and 11 passenger cars.

<sup>16</sup> *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Sept. 25, 1861. This letter Buckner had printed on handbills and distributed throughout the counties in which he had seized the road. It was, of course, propaganda, and Buckner could not have expected Guthrie to acquiesce in the arrangement proposed.

<sup>17</sup> *Supplementary Report No. 2*, October, 1861. "Buckner and his troops have destroyed the road and its business and intended just what they have done", was Guthrie's bitter comment.

<sup>18</sup> Mr. A. B. Quisenberry writing in the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society, XLIII. 9, has maintained that Guthrie had never been sincere in his neutrality pose. There is at least considerable reason for doubting the sincerity of his associates. The question of Kentucky's neutrality was closely linked with the interests of her railroads, and there is need of a new study of the question from this point of view.



bethtown.<sup>19</sup> For the remainder of the year the company operated only that section of the road between Louisville and Elizabethtown and was able to do this only under the constant protection of the Home Guards against raids from Buckner at Bowling Green. Meanwhile Guthrie advised with the Union authorities at Louisville, making plans for the double task of invading the Confederacy and of regaining his road. The two were inevitably joined. In October, Cameron, secretary of war, accompanied by Thomas, his adjutant-general, came to Louisville and consulted with Sherman and Guthrie about a forward movement. Guthrie and Sherman both thought it would require a large army to clear Kentucky of the Confederates.<sup>20</sup> On November 4 Guthrie wrote to Cameron pressing his demand for a large Union army to be sent to Kentucky.<sup>21</sup>

It was undoubtedly as a result of Guthrie's urging that the Union military authorities finally decided on an invasion of the South from Louisville along the line of the Louisville and Nashville, with a flanking movement down the Tennessee and Cumberland in co-operation. Slowly a powerful army was concentrated at Louisville, General Don Carlos Buell took command of it, locomotives and cars were transferred from other roads to the Louisville and Nashville, and on February 15, 1862, the Union armies entered Bowling Green. Ten days later Buell led his advance guard into Nashville. It was only by utilizing the Louisville and Nashville that he was able to move his troops and supplies so successfully, for in this time of the year the roads of the region he traversed were impassable. It is hardly possible that Grant's movement down the Tennessee and Cumberland could have succeeded had not Buell's advance prevented Johnston from sending reinforcements to the Southern forces in western Kentucky. By March, 1862, the Louisville and Nashville trains were again running over the entire line. The Confederates, however, in their retreat burnt many of the bridges, tore up a great deal of track, and either ran off with or destroyed most of the rolling-stock in their possession. Guthrie estimated the total losses from the seizures by Tennessee and Buckner at \$668,307.42.<sup>22</sup>

During the spring of 1862, the Louisville and Nashville strove vigorously to rebuild its track and to replace its rolling-stock. The government had already taken military control of the other railroads in Kentucky and now proceeded to transfer part of their locomotives

<sup>19</sup> *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Sept. 20, 1861.

<sup>20</sup> W. T. Sherman, *Memoirs* (New York, 1886), I. 230; Report of L. Thomas, Oct. 21, 1861, *Official Records, War of the Rebellion*, first series, III. 548.

<sup>21</sup> *Official Records*, first series, IV. 332.

<sup>22</sup> *Annual Report*, October, 1862.

and cars to the Louisville and Nashville. In addition to this, fifteen locomotives and four hundred freight cars were diverted from the Ohio roads to Guthrie's use. All of these were of wider gauge than the Louisville and Nashville and some delay was occasioned by cutting them down. These cars were commonly sent down the Ohio on flatboats to Louisville, and Guthrie laid a temporary track from the Louisville and Nashville depot to the canal in order to facilitate their delivery.<sup>23</sup> The bridges on the road were replaced by the Union engineers very rapidly, even that across the Cumberland at Nashville being completed in time for trains to cross it March 26.

One reason at least that Guthrie had for his activity in repairing the road and placing it at the disposal of the Union forces was that he might forestall its seizure by the government. Already on the last day of January, 1861, Congress had authorized the President to take possession of all railroads in the United States, and on May 25 the President issued an order that the railroads hold themselves in readiness for government transportation "to the exclusion of all other business".<sup>24</sup> This "possession", however, resolved itself into supervision as far as the Louisville and Nashville and other Northern roads were concerned. In November, 1861, J. B. Anderson, a Louisville and Nashville official, had been appointed director of railroads in the Department of Ohio and, when in February, 1862, Brigadier-General McCallum was appointed military director and superintendent of railways in the United States, he continued Anderson in charge of the Western roads. Anderson was a friend of Guthrie's and probably owed his appointment to him. Whatever supervision he exercised over the Louisville and Nashville was very mild, and Guthrie throughout the war remained the actual as well as the nominal director of the road.<sup>25</sup>

But, although Guthrie placed his road at the disposition of the government and thus escaped military control, he soon drifted into a dispute with it over the question of compensation for government transportation. A convention of railroad presidents met with Stanton in Washington in February, 1862, and an agreement was reached

<sup>23</sup> *Louisville Daily Journal*, Mar. 3 and 5, 1862; *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Mar. 1, 2, and 5, 1862. The Ohio roads from which cars were obtained were the Little Miami, and Columbia and Xenia. The transferring of these cars attracted wide attention, and most Western newspapers reported it fully. Before the completion of the track to the canal their delivery blocked the streets of Louisville to such an extent as to be the subject of formal complaint. In May the temporary track was taken up and sent south to repair the road torn up by the Confederates.

<sup>24</sup> Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, II. 161.

<sup>25</sup> H. K. Murphey, "Northern Railroads and the Civil War", in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, V. 324.

that soldiers should be carried at the rate of two cents a mile and government freight at a discount of ten per cent. from the rates for ordinary business.<sup>26</sup> The Louisville and Nashville had not been represented at this meeting, and, when a copy of the agreement was sent to him in May, Guthrie at once protested that such a rate was grossly unfair to the road. He pointed out that in the nature of the case the Louisville and Nashville would have no return freight from the South, while the other roads affected would carry freight both ways. He went on to say that the government business would not pay expenses, as the armies operating in the South were being supplied by steamboats; only pork and hay were being carried over the Louisville and Nashville. Moreover, the government guard through the secession country was not sufficient to protect the road, and the company was at the expense of furnishing its own guards. To this protest Quartermaster-General Meigs replied curtly that Guthrie had not given sufficient reasons for making an exception of the Louisville and Nashville. Guthrie sent another protest, but said he would make up his accounts according to government regulations, hoping for compensation later.<sup>27</sup> In March of the next year, Guthrie renewed his application for higher rates and the government conceded the point on condition that the company pay for the rebuilding of the bridge over the Cumberland.<sup>28</sup>

The year 1862 was in fact one of continual troubles and vexations for the Louisville and Nashville. Hardly had Guthrie restocked his road when Bragg's invasion burst over Kentucky. Once again the Louisville and Nashville fell into the hands of the Confederates. Bragg operated the road himself south of Elizabethtown during the brief period of his stay in Kentucky and on his leisurely retreat destroyed whatever he could of its bridges, track, and rolling-stock. Guthrie made himself active at Louisville in organizing the forces to repel the invasion, releasing three hundred employees of the road for drill under the superintendent.<sup>29</sup> The advance of Buell's army again restored the road to the company, but only after great losses had been suffered. Little business of any kind was done during the fall of this year, and Guthrie reported to the stockholders in October that the business of the road was at an end and must remain so until proper protection was given by the government. Since

<sup>26</sup> *Official Records, War of the Rebellion*, third series, II. 838; *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Feb. 26, 1862.

<sup>27</sup> *Annual Report*, 1862.

<sup>28</sup> *Annual Report*, 1863. Guthrie was also successful in securing a higher compensation for carrying the mail than the government had originally allowed; *Louisville Daily Journal*, Jan. 6, 1863.

<sup>29</sup> *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Sept. 19, 1862.

July the damage done to the road by the Confederates had exceeded the entire amount derived from government business. Guthrie was evidently finding loyalty a costly business.<sup>30</sup>

In November, 1862, the Louisville and Nashville was once more open to Nashville. Whatever complaints Guthrie may have had about the paucity of government business before, he certainly had no occasion to make any from now on. As the course of the Northern invading armies swung toward Chattanooga, more and more of the burden of transporting troops and supplies and prisoners fell upon the Louisville and Nashville. So great was the volume of business that the company was overwhelmed by it. Its supply of locomotives had been seriously diminished by Bragg's invasion, so that for five months—November, 1862, to March, 1863—it had to rent engines from the government, paying for them at the rate of fifteen cents a mile. Even with government aid the company was not able to meet the demands made upon it for transportation, and considerable friction developed between Guthrie and the Union generals at the South.<sup>31</sup> The government continued its policy of transferring rolling-stock from other roads to the Louisville and Nashville. As the Southern roads fell into the hands of the Union armies their rolling-stock was transferred to this road whenever needed. At Louisville, the Louisville and Frankfort terminal was changed and the road made to run into the Louisville and Nashville depot so as to facilitate the transfer of cars. Across the river the New Albany and Jeffersonville roads extended their tracks to the river's edge, and Guthrie once more laid a track from his road to the river bank in order to receive their cars when ferried across the river.<sup>32</sup> In October, 1863, the government changed the gauge of the Louisville and Frankfort to make it correspond with that of the Louisville and Nashville.<sup>33</sup>

Thus by the transfer of cars from other roads and by dint of constant building in its own shops the Louisville and Nashville managed to keep going and in a measure at least to meet the demands on it. In July, 1863, the government somewhat tardily an-

<sup>30</sup> *Supplementary Report*, October, 1862. The damage to the road from Bragg's invasion was \$108,690.

<sup>31</sup> *Annual Report*, October, 1863.

<sup>32</sup> *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Oct. 24, 1863. Since the Southern roads were of the same gauge as the Louisville and Nashville, transferring their cars to the latter road was a simple matter.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1863. At the stockholders' meeting in October, it was voted to subscribe \$300,000 to the capital of a company proposing to build a railroad bridge over the Ohio; *Annual Report*, 1863. The bridge was not built, however, till after the close of the war.

swered Guthrie's appeal for better protection by placing a military guard of fifty men on each train.<sup>34</sup> It was certainly needed, for although the road did not again fall into the power of a Confederate army after Bragg's retreat, it was subjected throughout the year to systematic raiding at the hands of small forces. Of all these despoilers, the most notorious was John Morgan. The Louisville and Nashville road looked upon this ubiquitous leader as a special agent for its undoing. Certainly most of his raiding had both that purpose and that result. "It is his mission to cripple and destroy the road", said a Louisville editor, and certainly he was not far wrong.<sup>35</sup> He tore up the track, burned the bridges, and ran off the cars practically at will, the military guards being helpless to oppose him. The Louisville and Nashville from October, 1862, to October, 1863, was damaged by the Confederates to the amount of \$543,000, and John Morgan could boast that he had inflicted most of it. Notwithstanding the constant destruction and interruption of traffic, the road this year made an enormous net profit of over a million dollars. Most of this came from the transportation of troops.<sup>36</sup>

One of the results of the raiding was that the Louisville and Nashville found it difficult to procure fuel. Wood was used on all of its locomotives, the company commonly contracting with the farmers along the line to cut the wood and pile it along the track, so that the locomotives could take it on as needed. But Morgan burned the wood piles on his raids and warned the farmers to refrain from selling to the company lest worse befall them. As most of the counties through which the road ran were Southern in their sympathies, the farmers were not averse to taking the warning. Consequently the company found itself frequently embarrassed. In September the military authorities came to its aid with an order for the impressment of the slaves of the farmers along the line for cutting wood. Five hundred were to be impressed from each of the thirteen counties through which the road ran, the impressing being done by the military commanders in the county seats. Wood might be impressed as well as slaves, but the company was to pay for both articles.<sup>37</sup> This decided action relieved the company to a great extent from fuel shortage for the remainder of the war.

<sup>34</sup> *Louisville Daily Democrat*, June 21, 1863.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1863.

<sup>36</sup> *Annual Report*, October, 1863.

<sup>37</sup> *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Sept. 18, 1863. The slaves were exempted of those farmers who would agree to furnish wood to the road—one negro being exempted for every twenty cords of wood furnished. If a farmer had but one slave, the slave was exempted; if he had four or more, one-third were taken. Coal was also used by the road, but to a very slight extent.

In the fall of 1863 serious friction developed with the Union commanders in Tennessee, who were dissatisfied with the efforts of the Louisville and Nashville in transporting supplies. Rosecrans was especially insistent in his criticism and in September wrote to Guthrie to the effect that he would confiscate the entire road if things were not remedied. He complained that Guthrie was giving private freight and express the preference over government business.<sup>38</sup> Complaints were made by the commanding officer at Louisville that the road left government supplies waiting for days in its depot.<sup>39</sup> In November, Grant complained to Anderson that provisions were not being sent rapidly enough on the Louisville and Nashville,<sup>40</sup> and about the same time Andrew Johnson wrote to Lincoln that Anderson was under "Louisville influences" and was being used to advance their interests at the expense of the United States.<sup>41</sup> Whether there was any truth in any of these charges it is impossible to determine. Guthrie insisted that the road was doing everything in its power to aid the government, and he succeeded in retaining the confidence of Lincoln and Stanton notwithstanding the complaints against him.

The year 1864 passed for the Louisville and Nashville in much the same manner as the preceding one. John Morgan died and went to his reward, thereby releasing the railroads of Kentucky from grave discomfort. The field of battle was too far south for the road to be threatened by Confederate armies. But what the armies and John Morgan ceased to do the guerrillas enthusiastically undertook. Small bands of these irregular marauders, sometimes secessionists but as often as not without political preference, infested Kentucky throughout the year. They had indeed been more or less active in 1863, but their halcyon days came in 1864 when, as a result of the long continuance of the war, society became more and more disorganized and the habit of orderliness and obedience to the law was broken up. It appeared as if they divided up the railroads for systematic spoliation, with special attention given to the Louisville and Nashville. On account of their knowledge of the country and their extreme mobility, the troops in Kentucky were entirely unable to cope with them. Their chief motive was plunder—which

<sup>38</sup> *Official Records, War of the Rebellion*, first series, vol. XXXIX., pt. 2, p. 667. Guthrie refers to this threat in his *Annual Report* of 1863 and adds the comment that "better counsels prevailed".

<sup>39</sup> *Official Records*, first series, vol. XXXI., pt. 3, p. 1. Report of C. A. Dana, assistant secretary of war, to Stanton.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.



they secured by capturing the trains, robbing the passengers, derailling freights, and even capturing the railroad depots in the small towns. Their constant attacks on the trains made it very difficult for the road to secure employees of any sort. They damaged the road itself during the year to an amount approximating \$120,000, and their activities continued even after the war came to an end.<sup>42</sup>

Guthrie remained unshaken in his loyalty to the Union cause. He still called himself a Democrat, however, and was one of the leaders in the Kentucky campaign to nominate McClellan for President. He had greatly disapproved of the Emancipation Proclamation and was growing more and more alarmed as the civil authorities in Kentucky were subordinated to the military. He headed the Kentucky delegation to the nominating convention and was a member of the platform committee, exerting great influence in its writing. After McClellan was nominated he did all in his power to secure his election. The overwhelming majority that McClellan received in Kentucky was at least partly due to Guthrie's efforts.<sup>43</sup>

While the Union armies remained at Chattanooga it was upon the Louisville and Nashville that the government depended for its transportation of troops and supplies. Guthrie did not let his political associations influence his conduct of the road, but continued to give the Union cause every support possible. Civilians were not allowed on the Louisville and Nashville trains southward unless they had permits from the military authorities, and these permits were not easy to obtain.<sup>44</sup> Private shipments of freight to the south had to wait the convenience of the military, although the north-bound freight, for obvious reasons, was not so rigidly controlled. The difficulties of the road were increased by the action of the government in seizing its cars for service on roads further south. During the year from July, 1863, to July, 1864, 25 locomotives and 191 cars of the road were seized by the government for this purpose, and on the latter date the government had in its possession 218 of the Louisville and Nashville cars—one-half of the entire number.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Oct. 21, 1864. Scarcely an issue of the two Louisville papers during the war was without some reference to the guerillas. During the year forts were erected at various points on the road to check them. *Official Records*, first series, vol. XLV., pt. 1, p. 1136.

<sup>43</sup> The political activities of Guthrie during 1864 are best recorded in the columns of the *Louisville Daily Journal* for that year. Especially important is the issue of Aug. 24, which sets forth his position fully. In the *Official Records*, first series, vol. XXXIX., pt. 2, p. 249, there is a long and interesting letter from Sherman to Guthrie discussing the military tyranny in Kentucky and the services of the Louisville and Nashville.

<sup>44</sup> *Louisville Daily Journal*, July 21, 1864.

<sup>45</sup> *Annual Report*, July, 1864.



When Sherman began his advance from Chattanooga against Atlanta he seized every Louisville and Nashville car he could find and, when Guthrie remonstrated, gave him the sardonic advice to make up the deficit by taking the cars that came on the Northern roads to Jeffersonville—advice which Guthrie promptly acted on.<sup>46</sup>

Notwithstanding the marauding of the guerrillas and the confiscation of its cars by the government, the net earnings of the road for the year amounted to nearly two million dollars. As in 1863, most of the profit came from the carriage of troops. The freight business was about evenly divided between government and private shipments.<sup>47</sup> In fact, the profits of the Louisville and Nashville throughout the war were enormous, judging them by the standard of the period. Notwithstanding the constant destruction of the road and its equipment, the net earnings were far in excess of what they had been in peace times. If Guthrie had chosen the Union side because of business reasons, the sequel showed clearly that his acumen was not at fault. Even for 1865, a year in which the armies advanced entirely out of the range of the road, and a year in which business depression followed closely on the heels of peace, the net earnings of the road were over two million dollars.<sup>48</sup>

Such was the record of the Louisville and Nashville during the Civil War. Not only had Guthrie guided the road in such a manner as to keep it a private enterprise and to enable it to make large profits; at the conclusion of the war the road was actually longer and in better shape than ever. Under the efficient direction of Albert Fink, superintendent of road and machinery, the road was repaired almost as fast as it was destroyed, the bridges were rebuilt stronger and on better plans, and the entire system improved over its original condition.<sup>49</sup> In 1865 the Bardstown road, a line eighteen miles long from Louisville to Bardstown, was purchased.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, it was in the midst of the war that Guthrie found time and means to begin the building of a branch line to East Tennessee. There was a government project of similar nature initiated at the beginning of 1862, when it seemed that it might be possible to detach East Tennessee from the Confederacy, both Lincoln and Mc-

<sup>46</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, II. 12. It is a matter of record that few of these cars ever found their way home again. Sherman seized 17 locomotives and 120 cars belonging to the Louisville and Nashville. *House Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 39 Cong., 1 sess.

<sup>47</sup> *Annual Report*, July, 1864.

<sup>48</sup> *Annual Report*, July, 1865.

<sup>49</sup> "Life and Achievements of Albert Fink", a paper read before the Filson Club of Louisville by C. K. Needham, Oct. 4, 1920.

<sup>50</sup> *Annual Report*, July, 1865.

Clellan being much interested in attempting it. Guthrie was named on a committee of three in January, 1862, to investigate and report on the location and construction of such a road from Danville, Kentucky, to Knoxville, Tennessee.<sup>51</sup> The government, however, found other work to its hand than the building of railroads, and the project died a silent death. Guthrie revived the idea in 1863, but with the intention of building the road as a private enterprise. In February, 1863, the Kentucky legislature amended the Louisville and Nashville charter, giving the road permission to extend its Lebanon branch line through the coal-fields of Kentucky and to borrow \$600,000 from the city of Louisville to prosecute the work.<sup>52</sup> In September the citizens of Louisville voted the money—in the shape of thirty-year \$1000 bonds bearing interest at six per cent.<sup>53</sup> A military engineer was put in charge of the work by order of General Burnside, and negroes were impressed along the line to do the necessary grading.<sup>54</sup> By July, 1864, the road was completed to Stanford, thirty-six miles from Lebanon.<sup>55</sup>

The profits of the Louisville and Nashville from the carriage of Union troops and its losses from Southern armies and Southern sympathizers attest equally the importance of the road in the Civil War. Two facts go to show the appreciation felt by the civil and military authorities of the United States for its aid. One was the invitation given Guthrie to enter the Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury when Chase resigned. This invitation Guthrie refused for the avowed reason that he could be of more use where he was.<sup>56</sup> The other was an expression from Sherman, with which this story may well close: "I have always felt grateful to Mr. Guthrie, of Louisville, who had sense enough and patriotism enough to subordinate the interests of his railroad company to the cause of his country."<sup>57</sup>

R. S. COTTERILL.

<sup>51</sup> *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Jan. 25, 1862.

<sup>52</sup> Act of the General Assembly of Kentucky, Feb. 6, 1863.

<sup>53</sup> *Louisville Daily Journal*, Sept. 7, 1863.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1863.

<sup>55</sup> *Annual Report*, 1864. The road was designed to go through Danville, but owing to friction with the citizens of that place Guthrie changed the location, leaving Danville unvisited. *Louisville Daily Democrat*, Sept. 24, 1863.

<sup>56</sup> This statement is made on the authority of J. F. Speed, of Louisville, whose uncle, J. F. Speed, carried to Guthrie Lincoln's telegram offering the position, and who wired Guthrie's refusal.

<sup>57</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, II. 12. In the fall of 1865 Guthrie was elected to the United States Senate, where he made himself conspicuous as an opponent of the Congressional plan of reconstruction. Ill health forced his resignation in February, 1868, and he died Mar. 13, 1869. He was one of the heroic figures of his time. No biography of him has yet been written.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT AND ITALIAN CONSPIRACY, 1831-1835

At the close of the late war the papers of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, carried away to Vienna when Austria evacuated Italy in the middle of the nineteenth century, were recovered by the government of Italy and deposited in the Italian Archives of State. Of the documents thus restored, those at Milan include, among other papers, the minutes of the Senate, which was the supreme court of appeals of Lombardy and Venetia. They form a body of evidence, as yet unexploited, from which to draw further light on the Austrian administration in North Italy during the period inaugurated by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and terminated by the expulsion of "the foreigner" in 1859-1866. The manuscripts cited below, which I consulted recently with the special permission of the Italian government,<sup>1</sup> are those which grew out of the trials for political conspiracy in 1831-1835, instituted in the train of the revolutionary wave that swept over Europe after the July revolution of 1830. There are two series of trials involved: trials of Austrian subjects who had participated in the revolutions of 1831 in the Papal States and Modena and Parma, and who were prosecuted as members of the Carbonari; and, secondly, trials intended to unearth and extirpate Young Italy, which began to penetrate Lombardy and Venetia during this period and to usurp the place of the Carbonari as the centre of the government's hostile attention. These fresh records are placed at the convenience of students of Italian history at an opportune time, when it is possible to view with less passion the nation that once dominated Italy. They confirm the view that Austrian justice was far from willfully harsh or arbitrary or the embodiment of an implacable political egoism as it is generally represented to have been.

In the Carbonari cases the courts were trying Austrian subjects for treason for having participated in movements against the governments of foreign states. They were immediately confronted with the legal question whether this could be construed as treason against Austria. By the Austrian Penal Code treason was defined as action "tending to make a violent revolution in the system of the

<sup>1</sup> These manuscripts are in the Archivio di Stato in the Palazzo Senato at Milan, where I used them with the courteous assistance of Cav. Achille Giussani, Economico dell'Archivio.

state, or to draw upon the state a peril from without or to increase it". There was no question of jurisdiction; the Austrian courts assumed jurisdiction over the subjects of Austria wherever they violated a law of the empire: if an Austrian committed theft or murder in Bologna or Florence, he would of course be punishable by the Austrian courts. But could participation in an attempt to overthrow the Papal government be construed as treason under the Austrian statute? It was obviously good policy thus to construe action against a government whose form so admirably harmonized with the reactionary interests of Austria in the peninsula; but was it good law?

In a series of cases in which the Senate had to contend with this question, the majority upheld the affirmative. But the Vienna government was not willing to accept such an extreme construction of the law, and ordered a full discussion of the point;<sup>2</sup> and the councillors were finally won to adopt the view which Antonio Salvotti, then one of their number, had consistently and vigorously maintained. Salvotti, it will be remembered, was the inquisitor in the Pellico-Confalonieri-Pallavicino trials of 1821-1822. In the case of one Pimpoli, secretary to the revolutionary general Ghisleri at Ancona in 1831, Salvotti said: "In the long period that the speaker directed the inquisitions of the special commission of the court of first instance, it was held that the law contemplated solely actions directed to the violent subversion of the Austrian state, or to draw a foreign peril upon the Austrian state", but never acts of an Austrian subject who undertook to favor or produce revolution in a foreign state.<sup>3</sup> In the case of another Austrian whose crime it was to have been a member of the insurgents' assembly at Bologna in 1831, a clear act of treason against the pope, Salvotti reduced his opponents' position to absurdity. If it should be argued, he said, that the policy of the revolutionary government of Bologna, supported by the accused, was such as to subject Austria to a foreign peril, since this policy was pivoted upon the enmity of France for Austria as a factor that would produce equilibrium and make the intervention of Austria dangerous to

<sup>2</sup> His Majesty's Resolution of Feb. 16, 1833, after confirming the decision of the Senate in the case of G. D. Pavia, continues: "Since then the Senate persists in holding guilty of high treason and punishable under the terms of paragraph 52 of the Penal Code an Austrian subject who simply lends himself to a revolt against a foreign government, the said Senate will now take action in concert with the Senates resident in Vienna forming the Supreme Tribunal of Justice, and with the Aulic Commission of Judiciary Legislation on this point, and will report to me the results of such concerted action." *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 698, Mar. 5, 1833.

<sup>3</sup> *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 497, Mar. 30, 1833.

her safety, the judge "would change his function as interpreter and executor of the laws for the ampler mansions of politics. The peril which is drawn upon the state from abroad, in order to constitute the crime of high treason, must consist in an explicit and positive fact and not in the possible combinations and conjectures of politics". Furthermore the statute, "in defining high treason, specifies actions tending to the violent change of the state (*dello stato*), i.e., of the Austrian, not of any state whatever. It does not seem possible to suppose that the Austrian legislator, speaking of high treason, intended to provide for the security of all possible states of the universe".<sup>4</sup> An Austrian subject who preached against Mohammedanism and defended Christianity in Turkey would have to be convicted by the Austrian courts as a disturber of the religion of "the state", if that expression referred to all states.<sup>5</sup>

This view of the law and of the proper rôle of the court is the more significant because its champion, Antonio Salvotti, remembered with bitterness for his part in the trials of Ventuno, has been pilloried by historians as the impersonation of Austrian cynicism and cruelty, "a hyena", "a master of moral torture".<sup>6</sup> The discussions of the Senate in 1831-1834 reveal a man of conspicuous penetration, integrity, and power of mind, the vigorous champion of a sound and logical conception of justice.

In this whole series of trials the Senate at Verona, in whose roll-call Italian names are a majority, showed a disposition to be more thorough than the Germans at Vienna. The scope of the original prosecution of revolutionaries was limited by a rescript of the emperor, which confined it to ringleaders and prime movers of conspiracy.<sup>7</sup> When Young Italy was discovered the Verona government showed itself anxious to throw off this restraint, so grave seemed the danger; but Vienna sent down word that the courts were still to observe it. It was but natural for the councillors of his Imperial Majesty in Italy to be alarmed by a movement that had produced such havoc all around, and that remained so mysterious and shadowy a menace. Nevertheless they strove conscientiously to preserve a judicial attitude. In the first important case to reach the court, that of the Marquis Antonio Triulzio, a debate that occupies

<sup>4</sup> Case of Francesco Scalini, *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 235, no. 1511, June 20, 1832.

<sup>5</sup> Discussion of treason, *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 698, May 8, 1833.

<sup>6</sup> Tivaroni, *L'Italia durante il Dominio Austriaco*, I. 365. See also d'Ancona, "Confalonieri," in *Nuova Antologia*, 1890. For a view fully in accord with Salvotti's part in the trials under consideration, see A. Luzio, "Antonio Salvotti", in the *Biblioteca Storica del Risorgimento Italiano*, series III., no. 1 (1901).

<sup>7</sup> Sovereign rescript of Dec. 30, 1831.

twenty-six and a half folio pages of closely written argument turns upon the distinction between suspicions and legal evidence; and in spite of strong indications of guilt against the marquis the president insisted that these did not amount to evidence, and that the distinction must be sedulously observed. The court concurred, by a large majority.<sup>8</sup> Even in the Young Italy trials, when the danger seemed most grave, the Senate, in the very act of speeding up the inquisition, insisted that the sole object of an inquisitor must be to know the truth, "removing all precipitate action and the ever reprobable spirit of persecution", and the president added that "every artifice must be alien to the exercise of justice; and the inquisitor must be such as not to be liked too well nor yet abhorred by the accused".<sup>9</sup> In another case the feeling of a majority was expressed rather indignantly by a councillor who declared that "a government frank and loyal and at the same time as powerful as the Austrian has no need to avail itself of a means so uncertain and fallacious as is the arrest of the innocent to come to a knowledge of the plots of the guilty".<sup>10</sup>

Again, these records show that the Austrian government was not blind or indifferent to the injustice resulting from the law's delay, of which there were plentiful grounds for complaint. The delay in frequent cases was recognized as excessive and defended on the ground of a necessity which, from the governmental point of view, was reasonable enough. The courts were grappling with a widespread conspiracy, directed by a secret group, an intangible and slippery foe. The testimony of the persons under arrest might prove interdependent, and to exculpate any one of them while the web of evidence still failed to show a logical pattern might lose the magistrates just the thread by which the whole tissue cohered.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless the Senate, in imposing terms of imprisonment, consistently made allowance for the period during which the convicted had been held for trial, if this had been excessively protracted, and rebuked the inferior courts with unsparing vigor if the delay seemed an un-

<sup>8</sup> *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 233, no. 141, Jan. 30, 1832.

<sup>9</sup> *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 245, no. 550, Mar. 4, 1834.

<sup>10</sup> *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 248, no. 2606, Aug. 27, 1834. Also the Zajotti poisoning case, where the court ordered that Tinelli, suspected of an attempt on the inquisitor's life, should be examined by Schneeberg, since if prosecuted by Zajotti the accused might regard his judge as actuated by motives of vengeance. *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 248, July 12, 1834.

<sup>11</sup> Case of Giovanni Zerman, *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 238, Dec. 27, 1832. In the cases of Antonio Triulzio, *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 232, no. 3417, Nov. 30, 1831, Torri, Beccali, and Visanetti, *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 237, no. 2376, Sept. 5, 1832, the same argument was advanced.

necessary one.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the government took pains to give the prosecution of Young Italy an expeditiousness that the Carbonari trials had lacked.<sup>13</sup> They were brought to a conclusion in a little over a year, while the examinations of the Carbonari had dragged their slow length along for more than two years before the principals were presented for final judgment.

The men who composed the Austrian government of Lombardy-Venetia strove conscientiously to maintain a proper attitude, but with them this was necessarily a paternal attitude. To their minds, steeped in the atmosphere of an ancient political system, the Italian subjects of the venerated Majesty of Austria were not citizens, they were children—as the subjects of all good rulers had been in the beginning, were still, and ever should be. Remembering this puts them in a different light from that in which the Austrian rulers of Italy are frequently judged; and their sense of paternal care is illustrated on every page that records their deliberations. Alessandro Bezzaghi received a sentence of only six months of imprisonment for the crime of high treason, because he was poor, and because of his neglected education, which left him in ignorance of the gravity of his fault.<sup>14</sup> Alfonso Battaglia, who had fought the Austrians, the troops of his own emperor, at Rimini and had been adjutant to the rebel general Zucchi, had supposed himself the legitimate son of a Baron Battaglia, and then had found himself without goods, without name, without social standing. His most intimate friend was a revolutionist, by whom he had been introduced to General Zucchi. He was bound to this general by a natural gratitude and was naturally carried away by his example; he was young, incapable of mature reflection; besides he had already been under arrest for a year despite his full confession; therefore he should receive clemency.<sup>15</sup> Luigi Antonio Maria Fontana, although a chronic revolutionist, was sentenced to one year in the workhouse instead of five in prison be-

<sup>12</sup> For examples see *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 238, no. 3011, Nov. 23, 1832, or no. 3148, Dec. 27, 1832. For an example of a reprimand, see *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 239, no. 192, Feb. 27, 1833.

<sup>13</sup> Zajotti received the assistance of one and then of two supplementary inquisitors to speed up his work. *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 246, no. 550, Mar. 4, 1834, and no. 920, Apr. 5, 1834. For additional sovereign rescript ordering measures to "insure haste without prejudice to maturity", see *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 247, June 30, 1834. For the speeding up order of Apr. 26, see *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 247, no. 1486, May 23, 1834. See also no. 1486, May 30, 1834; no. 2246, July 25; no. 2329, Aug. 5; *Protocollo* 247, no. 2704, Sept. 3, 1834; no. 3198, Oct. 18; *Protocollo* 250, no. 3766, Dec. 17. See also *Atti Presidenziali*, 1834, *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 234, no. 773, Mar. 30, 1832.

<sup>15</sup> *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 236, no. 1910, July 24, 1832.



cause the court, with fatherly intuition, saw all his subsequent misdeeds as the logical fruit of his participation in the movement of 1821, when he was only nineteen and had been carried away by the enthusiasm of others.<sup>16</sup> Another received a short sentence on the ground of his "partially neglected education, whereby it seems that the mania to distinguish himself and the ambition to obtain office moved him more to criminal action than the cold tendency so dangerous in those who are bold in revolutionary plots".<sup>17</sup> Grazio Cerini was perceived to be a person of a warm imagination, whose heart was not bad. His long arrest had kept him from "wife, mother, and three tender children". Sentenced to three months, although guilty of treason.<sup>18</sup> As for Gaetano Martelli, one of two brothers strongly suspected of membership in Young Italy, the court was favorably impressed with the police reports which described "that youth as timid, reserved, loving of study and occupation; alien to any relation whatever with persons suspected in a political way; in short, a youth of fine hopes". The brother Luciano was more lively, a person who might end in dissolute habits, but exempt from suspicion of false political opinions.<sup>19</sup>

The evidence of these records shows the councillors to whom the care of Austria's Italian domain was entrusted as men conscientious and careful of justice as they had been taught to understand it. They sometimes confounded policy and law and saw treason to Austria in opposition to the Austrian type of state anywhere. Their souls belonged to an order of things in which the distinction between policy and law was not clear. But the record of their own words and their decisions offers no reason for doubt that they acted in good faith and in the consciousness of a grave responsibility for the well-being of Italy as they conceived it.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

<sup>16</sup> *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 238, nos. 2966 and 3064, Oct. 8 and 16, 1832.

<sup>17</sup> *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 238, no. 3149, Dec. 27, 1832.

<sup>18</sup> *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 239, no. 192, Feb. 27, 1833.

<sup>19</sup> *Protocollo di Consiglio*, 248, no. 2342, Aug. 16, 1834. Also *Protocollo* 242, no. 2702, Aug. 6, 1833, where the Senate was discussing the applicability of the Sovereign Resolution of Dec. 30, 1831, to the Young Italy trials. Councillor Castellani held that, since the character of the new conspiracy was not yet fully determined, it would be wiser not to proceed indiscriminately against its members, "in order not to scatter terror in families in which perhaps some untried youth has let himself be seduced without realizing the gravity of his crime". Numerous illustrations of this spirit might be cited.

## JACKSON AND THE MISSIONARIES

IN his splendid work entitled *The Supreme Court in United States History*, II. 228-229, Mr. Charles Warren prints a supposed letter by President Jackson to "The American Board of Missionaries". This letter is apparently copied by Mr. Warren from Seymour Dunbar's *History of Travel in America*, II. 596, which quotes it from the *St. Joseph Beacon*, of South Bend, Indiana, of September 29, 1832. The concluding part of the last sentence is, according to Mr. Warren, a "characteristically pungent comment by Jackson" that missionaries are, "'by their injudicious zeal (to give it no harder name), too apt to make themselves obnoxious to those among whom they are located'".

Having doubts, I wrote to the Rev. Dr. James L. Barton, senior secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who writes that, in the early correspondence of the Board over the Cherokee incident, all of which has been preserved, there is no letter from President Jackson, nor any indication whatever of any communication from him except what is contained in the following letter from Lewis Cass addressed to William Reed, chairman of the Prudential Committee of the Board, and dated from the Department of War, November 14, 1831.

Sir:

I have received and submitted to the President the memorial of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions transmitted in your letter of the 3d inst., and I am instructed by him to inform you that, having on mature consideration satisfied himself that the Legislatures of the respective states have power to extend their laws over all persons living within their boundaries, and that when thus extended, the various Acts of Congress providing a mode of proceeding in cases of Indian intercourse inconsistent with these laws become inoperative, he has no authority to interfere under the circumstances stated in the memorial.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully

Your obedient servant,  
LEW CASS.

Led by a reference to the matter in a typewritten monograph on "Official Newspaper Organs and their Activities, 1835-1837", submitted in competition for the Justin Winsor Prize by E. M. Eriksson, I have found in Jackson's official organ, the *Globe*, for October 22, 1832, the following editorial statement:

We are now authorized to declare, in the most positive manner, that the President did not write the letter in question; and we also assert,

that the disparaging sentiment with regard to Missionaries generally, is as unjustly imputed to him as the writing of the letter itself. The President never believed that Missionaries were "*apt to make themselves obnoxious to those among whom they were located*"—on the contrary we have heard him often express the opinion, that for the most part, they have obtained a great influence over the barbarous nations whom they are sent to enlighten, which has always proved salutary when confined to the objects of their religious calling, as the ambassadors of Christ.

The editorial also referred to "the reported disavowal of the Board of Commissioners, with regard to having received such letters". On October 24, the *Globe* printed a very long editorial entitled the "Missionaries", vehemently asserting that the letter was forged, and stating that "this forgery has been imposed on immense numbers of good and pious persons in every section of the Union. It has been published in almost all the opposition papers, and circulated in myriads in Maine and other States on the eve of elections, in little handbills not larger than the palm of the hand". The editor adds that "the National Republicans, who have propagated it, make no effort to detect the felon".

It is curious that ninety years after the issue of this forged letter, it should appear again and deceive a careful historian; while all record of the denial of its authenticity seems to have disappeared from the records of the American Board.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

#### LINCOLN AND CATHOLICISM

In "An American Protestant Protest against the Defilement of True Art by Roman Catholicism", recently circulated by the million, Abraham Lincoln is quoted as saying:

Unfortunately, I feel more and more, every day, that it is not against the Americans of the South alone I am fighting. It is more against the pope of Rome, his perfidious Jesuits, and their blind and bloodthirsty slaves . . . that we have to defend ourselves . . . . It is to popery that we owe this terrible Civil War. I would have laughed at the man who would have told me that before I became President. . . . Now I see the mystery.

Students are perfectly well aware that no such quotation is to be found in the works of Lincoln, they know that the spirit of the quotation is contrary to the whole character of Lincoln's thought and expression, they are familiar with the fact that on its face it is not less absurd to attribute such a statement to Lincoln, than it is to accuse the papacy of such a position. Are they equally conscious

of the danger that lies in the fabrication of such forgeries? All men of prominence after death are liable to such misrepresentation. At the present time, however, and in the United States, Lincoln is the chief victim. Many similar inventions are being continually circulated under his name, in order to attach his great prestige to this cause or that, and the general public is not in a position to tell the true from the false.

Is it not the duty of historians to meet this current falsification? It is not easy to see how such a duty can ordinarily be performed. In the case of so invaluable a national asset as Lincoln, would it not be possible to establish a pure gospel, and to bring out a definitive edition of his writings and sayings?

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Marbois on the Fur Trade, 1784*

FOR the following documents we are indebted to Miss Shirley Farr, who found them in Paris, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and brought copies to Washington. In those archives the designation of the first is Correspondance Politique, États-Unis, vol. 28, no. 102; it occupies ff. 266-271 in the volume, and is a despatch, dated September 30, 1784, and numbered 395, from François de Marbois, chargé d'affaires of France in the United States, afterward called Barbé-Marbois, to the Comte de Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs in Paris. The second, sent as an enclosure in the first, is no. 103 in the same volume, occupying ff. 272-286, and is a memoir on the fur trade as it was carried on through central New York in 1784, with suggestions for French participation in it, the information having been collected by Marbois when attending, with Lafayette, the negotiations with the Six Nations carried on at Fort Schuyler (Stanwix) that autumn by commissioners of the Continental Congress. It is thought that readers will be interested in the picture the memoir gives of the status and methods of the fur trade at this precise period, 1784, when as a result of the treaty of peace and its settlement of boundaries the Americans saw a chance of capturing the trade.<sup>1</sup>

François de Marbois (1745-1837)<sup>2</sup> was born in Metz, the son of a director of the mint there, entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1768, was secretary of legation at Ratisbon, then chargé d'affaires at Dresden and at Munich, and came out to America with Luzerne in 1779 as his secretary of legation. President Stiles describes him in that year as "a learned Civilian; a Councillor of the

<sup>1</sup> It occupies thus an intermediate position between the account given in 1780 by Charles Grant to Haldimand, printed in G. C. Davidson, *The North West Company* (Berkeley, 1918), pp. 256-259, and *Can. Arch. Report*, 1888, pp. 59-61, and that which Inglis submitted to Grenville in 1790, Davidson, pp. 272-274, or that of Count Andriani, 1791, in La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyages* (1799), II. 216-232. See also McGill to Hamilton, 1785, in *Can. Arch. Report*, 1890, pp. 56-58. The earlier history of the New York fur trade is well sketched in Professor McIlwain's *Wraxall's Abridgment* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. xxxv-lxxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> His biography is given by Comte Siméon in a eulogy before the House of Peers, Jan. 17, 1838, *Archives Parlementaires*, CXV. 56-60; the article in *Nouv. Biog. Gén.* is mainly based on this.

Parliament of Metz: aet. 35 as I judge: speaks English very tolerably and much better than his Excellency the Minister".<sup>3</sup> He was made French consul general in the summer of 1783, married on July 1, 1784, the daughter of President William Moore of Pennsylvania, and since Luzerne's departure in April had been chargé d'affaires. After leaving the United States in 1785 he had a checkered but honorable career, chiefly that of a competent public official—intendant-general of St. Domingo 1785–1791, envoy to Ratisbon 1792, member of the Conseil des Anciens under the Directory, deported to Cayenne after 18 Fructidor, recalled after 19 Brumaire, councillor of state under Bonaparte, minister of the treasury 1801–1806 (and as such negotiator of the sale of Louisiana), and from 1807 president of the Cour des Comptes under Napoleon and under Louis XVIII. The latter in 1814 made him a peer (marquis). His *Histoire de Louisiane et de la Cession* (1829) is well known.

The occasion of Marbois's visit to central New York in September, 1784, was the journey to Fort Stanwix (Schuyler) of three commissioners, Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut, Arthur Lee of Virginia, and Richard Butler of Pennsylvania, whom the Continental Congress had appointed to negotiate with the Six Nations for a general post-bellum settlement.<sup>4</sup> The incidents of Marbois's journey are fully described by him in an entertaining journal, which Miss Farr also brought home from the French archives, and of which a translation is to appear in the *Quarterly* of the New York State Historical Association. It must suffice here to speak briefly of his companions on the journey, the Marquis de Lafayette and James Madison.

Though the final success of the United States had placed the Six Nations, except the faithful Oneidas, in an unhappy predicament, yet in view of the backing they received from the British, the British retention of the Western posts, and the weakness of the American confederacy, they were likely to make the negotiation at Fort Schuyler difficult. It was represented to Lafayette, then revisiting America,<sup>5</sup> that his influence with them would be potent for good to the United States. He was easily persuaded to attend the conference, and Madison was easily persuaded to accompany him. They left New York on September 15; at Albany they were overtaken by Marbois; they arrived at Fort Stanwix (Schuyler) on the 29th, and, finding that the Indians were waiting for the United States com-

<sup>3</sup> *Literary Diary*, II. 371.

<sup>4</sup> Appointed Mar. 4 and Apr. 24, 1784. *Journals*.

<sup>5</sup> Aug. 4, 1784–Jan. 25, 1785. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain*, ed. of 1787, III. 316, 377; Lafayette, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1837), II. 97, 107.

missioners at the Oneida Castle, eighteen miles further on, went over there the next day.<sup>6</sup> It is there that Marbois dates these documents. Commissioners of New York, regardless of the Confederation, had already concluded a negotiation with the Indians and gone away. The commissioners of the United States arrived on October 2.<sup>7</sup> They found themselves somewhat overshadowed by Lafayette's superior influence with the tribes. "During the whole stay of the Marquis", writes Madison, "he was the only conspicuous figure. The Commissioners were eclipsed. All of them probably felt it. Lee complained to me", etc.<sup>8</sup> Crèvecoeur, a little later, with the best of intentions, increased the tension by giving to a newspaper the text of the Marquis's unofficial though authorized speech and the Indians' replies.<sup>9</sup> However, the commissioners were successful, and, after Lafayette's departure, signed a satisfactory treaty;<sup>10</sup> and the present documents are concerned rather with the fur trade than with these negotiations. For the narrative part of what Marbois reported, to a friend, the reader is referred, as above, to a forthcoming number of the New York State Historical Association's *Quarterly*.

À la BOURGADE DES ONÉIDAS <sup>11</sup>  
le 30 Septembre 1784.

Reçu le 8 J[anvi]er 1785.

No. 395.

*Monseigneur*

J'ai l'honneur de vous écrire d'Onéida le Chef lieu d'une Nation sauvage de ce nom, la première des Six Nations depuis que les Mohawks ou Agniers ont été exclus de la Confédération. Je me suis rendu ici pour connoître par moi même l'état de ces Peuples, voir de près leurs relations avec les Etats unis et me mettre en état de vous rendre un compte plus juste des difficultés qui se sont élevées entre les Anglois et le Congrès sur différens points. Quant à l'état présent de ces Peuples sauvages il m'a paru que le simple extrait du Journal de mon voyage

<sup>6</sup> Lafayette to Vergennes, New York, Sept. 15, *Mémoires*, II. 107; Madison to Jefferson, New York, Oct. 11, *Writings*, ed. Hunt, I. 79; Lafayette to the commissioners, Fort Schuyler, Sept. 30, *Life of Arthur Lee*, II. 362.

<sup>7</sup> Madison, I. 80; the commissioners to the President of Congress, Fort Stanwix, Oct. 5, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, 56: 133; their report is *ibid.*, 56: 137.

<sup>8</sup> Madison to Jefferson, in cipher, Oct. 17. *Writings*, I. 85.

<sup>9</sup> Reprinted in Crèvecoeur, III. 334-341; Lafayette, *Mémoires*, II. 99-103; his apologetic letter of explanation to the President of Congress, Nov. 25, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, 156: 396.

<sup>10</sup> Oct. 22; text in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, I. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Probably the place called New Oneida Castle on Sauthier's map of 1779, and now called Oneida Castle, Madison County, New York; 15-18 miles from Fort Schuyler.



satisferoit mieux votre curiosité et vous feroit mieux connoître combien ils sont changés depuis les derniers écrits des voyageurs, qu'une relation en forme qu'il me seroit difficile de rendre complète vu le peu de tems que j'ai passé parmi eux.

A l'égard des difficultés qui se sont élevées entre l'Angleterre et les Etats unis à l'occasion des limites et du Commerce il semble que le Congrès a apporté un soin particulier à les tenir secretes, peut être aussi lui sont-elles moins bien connues qu'à ceux qui habitent ce Pays ci; ou peut être n'ont elles pris beaucoup de consistance que depuis l'ajournement de cette assemblée.<sup>12</sup> Je dois reprendre cette matiere de l'époque de la paix entre la G[ran]de Bretagne et les Treize Etats. Tous ceux des sauvages attachés à l'Angleterre pendant la guerre qui vient de finir, avec qui j'ay pu m'entretenir m'ont dit que les Agens anglois etablis parmi eux furent extremement embarrassés à la reception des preliminaires lorsqu'ils virent que malgré les promesses les plus solennelles il n'y avoit pas la moindre stipulation en faveur des sauvages qui avoient pris les armes pour la Couronne contre les Americains et qu'au contraire ceux-ci étoient entierement sacrifiés par le Traité de limites; Ils nièrent d'abord l'existence des préliminaires. Lorsqu'ensuite ils eurent été communiqués aux sauvages par le Congrès ces Barbares devinrent furieux; Les chefs anglois crurent les appaiser par des présens de liqueurs fortes et ne firent que s'exposer à un plus grand danger: Ils ne mirent leurs vies en sureté qu'en s'éloignant pour quelque tems. Enfin ils reparurent, mais le Traité définitif redoubla leurs embarras: Ils chercherent à s'en tirer par des mensonges tels qu'on ne peut les attribuer aux ordres de la Cour de Londres; Ils les assurerent positivement que l'Alliance entre le Roy <sup>13</sup> et les Etats unis étoit rompue à l'occasion de la dette qu'ils ont contractée envers S. M., que les François avoient formé le projet de renouveler la guerre par l'invasion du Canada et de se payer de la dette américaine en faisant la conquête de tout ce qui est cédé aux Etats unis à l'Occident, que ce Territoire appartenant aux Indiens ils ne pouvoient echaper à une destruction totale que par une étroite intelligence avec les Anglois. Cette imposture n'a pas trouvé croyance chez les sauvages quoiqu'éloignés des nouvelles et sans communications avec d'autres que les anglois. une extrême méfiance avoit succédé à la plus grande credulité, mais Johnston et Butler <sup>14</sup> ont fait usage d'un autre stratageme qui leur a beaucoup mieux reussi: Ils ont repandu qu'il y avoit dans le Traité de paix un article secret par lequel il étoit stipulé que les quatre forts qui sont sur la limite du Canada ne seroient delivrés aux Etats unis qu'après qu'ils auroient donné satisfaction aux Sauvages, que c'étoit même le sens naturel de l'expression du Traité public *avec toute la diligence convenable*.<sup>15</sup> Cette assertion toute fausse qu'elle est a cependant surpris la bonne foi de ces Nations qui voyent que New York, Charleston et Penobscot ont été restitués tandis qu'aucun des forts et Postes sur les Lacs ne l'a été et qu'il n'est pas même encore question de les evacuer. Je suis porté à croire que les Agens anglois ne font à cet égard que suivre les ordres de leur Cour. C'est l'opinion des americains les mieux instruits qui habitent cette

<sup>12</sup> Congress had adjourned June 3, to meet at Trenton Oct. 30.

<sup>13</sup> Of France.

<sup>14</sup> Sir John Johnson, superintendent-general of Indian affairs in Canada, and Lieut.-Col. John Butler of the Rangers.

<sup>15</sup> "With all convenient speed." Art. VII. of the treaty.

frontiere et j'ai parlé à nombre de voyageurs venant de Quebec et de Montreal; ils s'accordent tous à dire que les Forts et postes ne seront rendus qu'après que les articles du Traité relatifs aux partisans de l'Angleterre, à leurs possessions et leurs dettes actives auront été exécutés,<sup>16</sup> et l'on ajoute que si le traité pour lequel les Nations sauvages ont été rassemblées dans ce lieu ci par le Congrès ne les satisfait pas entierement les postes ne seront pas évacués: Les troupes anglaises les occupent toujours et toute communication est coupée au Commerce ainsi qu'en tems de guerre. Ces circonstances portent coup à la considération que le Congrès vouloit inspirer aux Sauvages pour traiter avec quelqu'avantage avec eux: Ils voyent que les américains n'ont pu se procurer la remise de quatre postes<sup>17</sup> sans lesquels il est impossible de faire le Commerce, et ils en tirent la conséquence de la foiblesse extrême de la confederation vu que le Traité contient en effet une stipulation secrete en leur faveur. Le Fort Schuyler<sup>18</sup> sur la Rivière des Mohawks est le lieu ou le Traité entre eux et les Etats unis se negocie. Mrs. Woolcot, Arthur Lee et Buttler, Commissaires du Congrès sont logés dans une mauvaise barrique faite en terre et en bois sans fenêtres et accessible au vent et à la pluie. Mr. le M[arqu]is de la Fayette, Mr. le Chev'r de Caraman et moi habitons une cabanne d'écorce faite à la hâte. Les provisions en Rum et autre subsistances qu'il faut donner en abondance aux Sauvages quand on traite avec eux n'ont été rassemblées que fort tard et en petite quantité; Environ cent hommes qu'on a fait marcher des Etats du centre pour accompagner les Commissaires et les rendre plus respectables aux yeux des sauvages<sup>19</sup> arrivent lentement les uns après les autres et aussi mal vetus qu'en tems de guerre: d'autres circonstances plus essentielles ne sont pas d'un fort bon augure pour la Negociation. Il paroît que le Congrès ne s'est pas proposé de traiter ces Peuples fort liberalement et qu'il s'agit d'exclure une des six Nations<sup>20</sup> de ses anciennes possessions pour avoir porté les armes contre les Etats unis. Les sauvages s'apperçoivent aussi qu'il y a peu d'accord entre Les Etats pris individuellement et le Congrès. Le Gouverneur de la Nouvelle York s'est hâté d'entamer une negociation avec eux avant l'arrivée des Commissaires et plusieurs personnes considerent cette conduite comme une violation des articles de la Confederation.<sup>21</sup> Les sauvages, il est vrai lui ont répondu qu'ils ne vouloient

<sup>16</sup> This conclusion was, as is now well known, entirely correct. See McLaughlin, "The Western Posts and the British Debts", in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1894, especially pp. 414-419, 426-435. James Monroe, who had taken this route in August and returned through Niagara and Montreal, learned that the facts were as here surmised. Compare his letter to Governor Clinton, Schenectady, Aug. 19, 1784, in *Public Papers of George Clinton*, VIII. 338, with his letter to Governor Harrison, Trenton, Oct. 30, in his *Writings*, I. 39.

<sup>17</sup> Apparently Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac.

<sup>18</sup> Formerly Fort Stanwix; now Rome, N. Y.

<sup>19</sup> Governor Clinton of New York, in response to the commissioners' request for a protecting force, had promised some militia. *Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, ed. F. B. Hough (New York, 1861), p. 21; *Public Papers of George Clinton*, VIII. 333.

<sup>20</sup> The Mohawks.

<sup>21</sup> *Proceedings of the Commissioners*, pp. 1-66; *Public Papers of George Clinton*, VIII. 334-337, 339-340, 343-379. The council held with the Indians

conclurre qu'avec le Congrès et qu'ils se bornoient à prendre connoissance des points sur lesquels il desiroit de negocier avec eux: Il a été convenu cependant entre lui et les sauvages des Six Nations qu'aucune d'elles ne pourroit vendre des terres sans le consentement de l'Etat. Celui de Massachussets est sur le point de former de grandes pretentions sur une vaste etendue de territoire; Celui de Newyork les considere comme mal fondées et vouloit faire reconnoitre son titre par les sauvages; mais le Gouverneur qui tratoit en personne avec eux n'a pas mieux reussi dans ce point. La Negociation particuliere de cet Etat nuit beaucoup à celle du Congrès. Quand elle a été finie les Sauvages se sont dispersés et les Commissaires du Congrès prétendent que le Gouverneur de la Nouvelle York n'y a pas peu contribué. Il a fallu envoyer de nouveaux messagers. Les Deputés sauvages qui étoient restés ont besoin de nouvelles instructions et ils les attendent ici. En un mot la confusion est encore telle qu'il n'est pas sur que ce Traité qui devoit commencer le 20 du mois dernier ait lieu cette année.

L'Etat de Pensylvanie s'est mieux conduit que celui de Newyork: il a aussi de grands intérêts à discuter avec les sauvages; mais ses Commissaires suivant leurs ordres ne sont arrivés qu'avec ceux du Congrès; Ils negocient sous leur direction et s'abstiennent d'établir des prétentions: Ils pourroient être en opposition avec les principes adoptés par le Congrès à l'égard des Sauvages.<sup>22</sup>

Les intérêts des Etats unis avec eux, Monseigneur, forment desormais une partie essentielle de leur Droit public et de leur système politique: Ils seront les plus grands qu'ils puissent jamais avoir à l'égard du Territoire, des possessions et des agrandissemens. Ils sont aussi fort inportans à l'égard du Commerce et celui du Royaume y est particulièrement intéressé; a'nsi que vous le verrez par le memoire ci joint: Mais il sera nul tant que les anglois detiendront les Forts et ne permettront à aucun Américain ou etranger d'y venir faire la traite. L'animosité que cette conduite inspire est à son comble, et il paroît que l'evacuation même de ces Forts ne suffira pas pour y mettre fin. Les anglois qui prevoyent que les pretextes sous lesquels ils les detiennent ne pourront pas toujours durer, et qu'il faudra finalement les evacuer, se preparent à en construire d'autres sur les rives opposées et presque vis à vis de ceux qui par le Traité sont cedés aux Etats unis.<sup>23</sup> Un ingénieur de réputation dirige les travaux. Il est probable qu'aussitôt qu'ils seront achevés, ils transporteront dans ces places leurs garnisons et leurs etablissemens de Commerce et que leurs efforts pour l'empêcher de se diriger vers les Etats unis entretiendront longtems le mecontentement actuel. Les marchands anglois qui font le Commerce du Canada sont un's pour cet objet et leurs représentations influent sur les mesures du Gouvernement. Leur influence sur les Commandans et administrateurs de la Colonie est bien plus grande encore: Ceux ci sont tous interessés by Governor Clinton and the other New York commissioners took place Aug. 31—Sept. 10.

<sup>22</sup> See the letter of the Pennsylvania commissioners to President Dickinson, Fort Stanwix, Oct. 4. *Pa. Archives*, first series, X. 346.

<sup>23</sup> At Niagara (Newark); at Malden opposite Detroit. From Michilimackinac the first suggestion of removal was to the mouth of Thessalon River, *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII. 438, *Mich. Pioneer Coll.*, XI. 373, 415; but the removal, when finally effected, was to St. Joseph's Island. D. W. Harmon, *Journal*, ed. 1903, p. 11.

à ce Commerce: Tous les officiers qui commandent sur la Frontiere le sont également suivant l'usage qui avoit deja lieu au tems ou la France possedoit le Canada et je ne doute pas qu'il ne s'eleve de fréquentes difficultés entre eux et les americains.

Le Congrès m'avoit paru dans l'opinion que les sauvages prenoient peu d'intérêt à ces discussions pourvu qu'ils vendissent leurs fourrures et leurs peaux. Mais l'esprit de parti est encore plus violent chez eux que parmi les americains. Ils se distinguent en Whigs et Torys:<sup>24</sup> Les familles mêmes sont divisées: la paix les a rassemblés mais non reconciliés et nous avons été ce matin temoins d'une violente querelle entre deux frères dans notre cabanne. Le père et les femmes s'en sont heureusement mêlés et les deux freres ont fini par fumer ensemble devant nous le calumet ou la pipe de paix. Mais toutes leurs querelles ne finissent pas aussi paisiblement, et dans la nuit d'hier notre sommeil a été interrompu plusieurs fois par les cris de ceux qui se battoient, la scene a même été ensanglantée et nous avons été obligés de refuser un azyle à deux blessés qui vouloient se refugier auprès de nous.

Je suis avec un profond respect,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et

très obeissant serviteur,

DE MARBOIS.

MÉMOIRE SUR LE COMMERCE DES FOURRURES ET PELLETERIES AVEC LES  
NATIONS SAUVAGES PAR LA RIVIERE DU NORD DANS L'ETAT DE NEW YORK.

On doit compter parmi les principaux avantages resultans de la dernière paix ceux du Commerce entre la France et les Etats unis. J'ai dit ailleurs jusqu'à quel point il me paroissoit qu'on devoit l'encourager, et j'ai eu plusieurs fois occasion d'observer qu'une des principales difficultés étoit celle de trouver des retours dans les Etats unis et surtout d'en trouver dont le volume ne fut pas trop disproportionné avec celui des marchandises que le Royaume peut fournir à leurs consommateurs. Les fourrures et pelleteries de l'Amérique ont cet avantage: ce Commerce qui nous fut enlevé avec le Canada peut rentrer entre nos mains et il me paroît qu'il convient de diriger de bonne heure nos Commerçans vers cet objet important. Ils n'ont jusqu'à présent fait aucune expédition reguliere pour la Traite avec les Sauvages et c'est cependant un des objets les plus dignes de leur attention.

Les lumières que nous avons à cet égard avant que nous eussions perdu le Canada ne sont pas à negliger: Il s'agit, il est vrai, d'operer par un canal différent; mais ceux qui se rappelleront la pratique du Canada sous le Gouvernement françois verront qu'il n'y a pas une grande différence et je vais tracer la marche que ce Commerce me paroît devoir suivre desormais: Cette route bien connue des Marchands de l'Etat de Newyork ne l'est pas des françois et il importe de la leur indiquer. Avant d'entrer en matière je me borne à observer que les notions qui m'ont servi dans cet essay ont été recueillies par moi même sur les lieux, ou m'ont été communiqués par des marchands americains qui passent pour avoir autant de lumieres que d'experience.

Montréal est dans le Canada le grand entrepot du Commerce des fourrures. Le chef lieu de ce Commerce n'est pas également bien de-

<sup>24</sup> See Lafayette to Washington, Albany, Oct. 8. Sparks, *Correspondence of Eminent Men*, IV. 80.

terminé dans les Etats unis. On peut le faire par la Pensylvanie, et la Delaware en attirera sûrement une partie; mais le siège principal paroît devoir être Albany ou Shenectady dans l'Etat de Newyork. Je vais entrer ici dans quelques details geographiques qui doivent être suivis la carte à la main.

Les contrées voisines des grands Lacs qui separent le Canada des Etats unis fournissent les peaux de Castor et les fourrures et c'est par ces Lacs, par la Riviere des Mohawks et par celles du Nord qu'elles seront envoyées en Europe. Les quatre places principales qui servent à la communication ou à la traite sont, Oswego, Niagara, Detroit et Michillimakinac. Les deux dernieres sont des comptoirs ou il y a plus de françois que d'anglois: les deux autres sont des ports de communication et par une circonstance singuliere, ils se trouvent tous les quatre du coté des Etats unis par la cession que l'Angleterre leur en a faite au Traité de paix: Ce Traité assigne pour limite septentrionale aux Treize Etats une ligne tirée par le milieu des Lacs Superior, Huron, Erié et Ontario: Les postes qui tombent dans leur lot ne leur ont pas encore été delivrés; mais quellesque soient les causes de ce retard, il ne faut pas douter qu'ils ne soient évacués et on peut dès ce moment les regarder comme appartenans aux Etats unis et étant dans leur possession.

*New York.* On sçait que le Port de New York est accessible aux Navires marchandes de toute grandeur et dans tous les tems de l'année excepté dans les hivers extraordinairement rigoureux. La riviere du Nord ou de Hudson a son embouchure dans ce Port. On la remonte jusqu'au dela d'Albany a 160 milles de Newyork et la marée s'eleve quelques milles au dela de cette ville. Cette navigation est de trois ou quatre jours et quelque fois elle ne dure pas plus de vingtquatre heures; elle est parfaitement sure excepté aux approches d'Albany où les courans et nombre d'Ilots obligent de louvoyer, et où il est difficile de naviguer sûrement si l'on ne connoit le canal. Des sloops Brigs et schooners de cent tonneaux y remontent aisément. Le fret de Newyork à Albany est d'environ trois livres tournois<sup>25</sup> pour un Boucaud de Rum d'environ 120 gallons.

*Albany.* Albany est une des plus grandes villes mediterrannées du Continent des Etats unis. Elle est principalement habitée par des hollandois; Il y a quelques marchands assés considérables, et plusieurs orfèvres qui fabriquent les bijoux d'argent destinés à la traite. C'est à Albany que l'on quitte la Riviere du Nord pour aller chercher celle des Mohawks.

La riviere des Mohaws coule de l'ouest à l'est, son cours est d'environ cent cinquante milles: elle a son embouchure dans la riviere du Nord à dix milles au dessus d'Albany; mais prête à s'y jeter elle tombe d'une Cataracte d'environ 70 pieds<sup>26</sup> qui en interrompt la navigation et quoiqu'on put la continuer par le moyen d'un canal et de quelques ecluses et qu'il ait été souvent question d'executer cet ouvrage, il me paroît qu'il sera encore pour longtems au dessus des forces des américains; ainsi les cargaisons destinées à la traite des sauvages étant arrivées à Albany, sont dechargées, mises sur des chariots et transportées à Schenectady. Ce portage est de seize milles. [*In margin:* ce Portage est de 12 shellings,<sup>27</sup> ou 7 livres pour un chariot portant environ 14 quintaux.]

<sup>25</sup> About 60 cents.

<sup>26</sup> At Cohoes.

<sup>27</sup> New York shillings; of which twelve would equal \$1.50.

*Schenectady.* Schenectady est un village très considerable, bien bati, situé sur la riviere des Mohawks et qui est devenu au prejudice d'Albany un des entrepots du Commerce avec les sauvages. C'est la que les Cargaisons d'Europe arrivent d'Albany par terre pour être embarquées sur des bateaux et remonter la riviere des Mohawks; c'est dans ce même lieu que s'arretent les batteaux chargés des fourrures et pelleteries achetées des sauvages et qui ont descendu la riviere des Mohawks: elles sont chargées sur les mêmes chariots pour être transportées à Albany: il est indispensable que les Commerçans françois qui se proposent de faire par eux mêmes le commerce avec les sauvages ayent un facteur ou un correspondant ou un associé etabli à Schenectady ou à Albany: Les motifs qui ont fait préférer Schenectady par les américains me paroissent devoir determiner également les françois. C'est la que les fourrures etc. venant de Niagara sont recues, et c'est la aussi que sont embarquées les marchandises qui doivent être portées à Niagara sur les mêmes bateaux sans autres versements malgré les portages qui se trouvent sur la route. Il y a dans Schenectady des marchands solides et le sieur Kambell<sup>28</sup> le plus riche et le plus accredité d'entre eux a fait une fortune très considerable par le Commerce des pelleteries et fourrures, après avoir commencé avec de très petits moyens: c'est à lui que je dois une partie des details rassemblés dans cet essay.

La riviere des Mohawks sur laquelle j'ai navigué depuis Schenectady jusqu'au Fort Schuyler n'est à comparer à celle du Nord ni pour la grandeur et la profondeur du canal ni pour la sureté de la navigation. Les vents et cinq marées m'avoient porté en deux jours et demi de New York à Albany dans un sloop de cent tonneaux; mais le lit de la riviere des Mohawks etant peu profond et peu large on y fait rarement usage de la voile: les batteaux dont on se sert pour la traite ne portent que depuis un tonneau et demi jusqu'à trois tonneaux. Il faut à l'aide des rames et des avirons ferrés remonter avec effort contre un courant rapide dans un intervalle d'environ 140 miles depuis Schenectady jusqu'au Fort Schuyler, et quoiqu'on puisse descendre en moins de deux jours un batteau chargé ne peut remonter en moins de cinq; dans le tems des basses eaux deux batteaux chargés en prennent un troisieme vide à la traine afin de s'alléger dans les endroits peu profonds. La navigation est même interrompue par une cataracte qui se rencontre à environ soixante miles de Schenectady.

*La petite Cascade.* On l'appelle *the little falls* la petite cascade;<sup>29</sup> les batteaux ne peuvent la franchir soit en descendant soit en remontant la riviere: Il faut que les marchandises soient mises sur des chariots et le batteau est également trainé par terre par des chevaux et remis à l'eau au bout d'un mile ou environ. Cette operation se fait promptement et aisément. La navigation est ensuite fort aisée jusqu'à environ trente milles du Fort Schuyler: alors elle est obstruée par des bancs, par de

<sup>28</sup> Daniel Campbell (1730-1802). His house, still standing, is pictured in G. S. Roberts, *Old Schenectady* [1904], p. 241.

<sup>29</sup> At Little Falls, N. Y., a few miles east of Herkimer. The whole course of navigation of the Mohawk, at this time, and the obstructions, are minutely described in *The Report of a Committee appointed to explore the Western Waters in the State of New York for the Purpose of prosecuting the Inland Lock Navigation* (Albany, 1792), reprinted in O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, octavo ed., III. 1085-1103. The Little Falls are particularly described by Rev. John Taylor, "Missionary Tour, 1802", *ibid.*, III. 1131-1132.



grands arbres qui tombés des deux rives barrent le courant et ne peuvent être tournés qu'avec beaucoup de travail: Les grandes crues d'eau en entraînent tous les ans; mais bientôt d'autres les remplacent.

*Fort Schuyler.* C'est au Fort Schuyler que finit cette Navigation et quoique la rivière des Mohawks puisse être remontée plus haut on la quitte pour entrer dans la *Woodcreek, Ruisseau des Bois*, qui prend un cours opposé vers les grands lacs de l'Amérique:

*Portage du Ruisseau des bois.* Les Marchandises sont déchargées devant le Fort et transportées sur des chariots ainsi que le Bateau au *Ruisseau des bois*: ce portage n'est que d'un quart de lieue et quoique les eaux de la Mohawk courent à l'est et celle du *ruisseau des bois* à l'ouest, le terrain qui les sépare est presque de niveau, et le sol m'a paru n'offrir aucune difficulté à l'ouverture d'un canal.<sup>30</sup> C'est ici que finissent les établissemens européens et que nous nous trouvâmes parmi les sauvages.

*Lac Onéida.* Woodcreek ou le Ruisseau des bois se jette dans le Lac Onéidas qui communique par la Rivière Onondago<sup>31</sup> avec le Lac Ontario. Il y a un petit portage de quelques toises avant d'arriver à ce Lac; Les bateliers transportent eux mêmes le bateau. Il y a un fort américain à Oswego: Les anglois y avoient 25 hommes; on croit qu'ils les ont retirés.<sup>32</sup>

*Lac Ontario.* Les bateaux poursuivent leur navigation sur le Lac Ontario, quelquefois à l'aide du vent quelquefois à la rame; Ils se tiennent toujours en vue de la terre et naviguent rarement la nuit à cause du danger des ouragans auxquels leurs freres nacelles ne pourroient resister. Ils se tiennent toujours sur la rive meridionale et de la sorte ne courent aucuns des risques auxquels la Navigation de la rive septentrionale est exposée. Ils arrivent du Fort Schuyler a Niagara en quatre à huit jours. C'est la que finit leur navigation, et qu'ils déposent les marchandises dont ils ont été chargés à Schenectady. Ils les remettent à des Agens dont la fonction se borne à les envoyer à une destination ultérieure: ces bateaux reçoivent en retour des fourrures et autres marchandises provenant de la traite et les rapportent à Schenectady par le même chemin.

*Niagara.* C'est à Niagara que se trouve la cataracte la plus élevée et la plus abondante en eaux que l'on connoisse: elle a 154 pieds d'élévation et les eaux de quatre Lacs d'une grandeur immense en tombent pour aller former le Fleuve St. Laurent.

Avant de poursuivre la destinée des marchandises d'Europe apportées par ces bateaux jusqu'à Niagara il est à propos de dire qu'il y a trois hommes sur chacun, que chacun de ces batteliers reçoit pour son voyage d'aller et de retour de Schenectady à Niagara Dix pounds monnoye de New York ou vingt cinq Piastres espagnoles<sup>33</sup> et deux gallons de Rum: Ils se fournissent de tout ce dont ils ont besoin d'ailleurs. Le bateau appartient à l'expediteur de Schenectady il coute environ 120 [livres] tournois<sup>34</sup> et peut durer deux à trois ans: Il peut porter douze Barrils de Rum contenant chacun trente deux galons; mais on mêle

<sup>30</sup> There is a large-scale map, 1758, of the region between Fort Stanwix and Wood Creek in *Documentary History*. IV. 524.

<sup>31</sup> Oswego River. The portage mentioned below was at the Oswego Falls.

<sup>32</sup> Not yet.

<sup>33</sup> \$25.

<sup>34</sup> About \$23.



les marchandises; On ne le charge qu'à moitié plus ou moins en rum et le reste en marchandises d'Europe. Les premiers bateaux sont ordinairement expédiés de Schenectady pour Niagara vers le milieu d'avril. Ils sont de retour au bout de cinq semaines: Les dernières expéditions se font au mois de Septembre: Il faut ajouter aux frais dont il est fait mention cydessus pour le transport de Schenectady à Niagara le prix qui se paye pour transporter les marchandises aux deux portages de little fall et du Fort Schuyler. On paye deux piastres pour porter le bateau et sa cargaison, ce qui fait quatre piastres pour les deux portages.

Le Lac Erié communique au Lac Ontario par un canal navigable en partie. On le remonte jusqu'au bas de la Cataracte, six milles au delà du Fort.<sup>35</sup> C'est là que les marchandises, Rum etc. sont hissées par le moyen d'une poulie jusqu'au niveau supérieur de la cascade. Elles sont chargées sur des chariots qui les portent au Fort Schlosser huit milles plus loin que celui de Niagara à raison de 6 [livres] tournois par baril de Rum ou douze pounds de Newyork<sup>36</sup> pour la cargaison complète d'un Bateau. Là elles sont embarquées sur des canots qui les portent à dixhuit milles plus loin au Fort Erié ou les Sloops Brigs et autres Navires du Roy d'Angleterre se tiennent à l'ancre. Le fret d'une cargaison de douze barils ou de son équivalent en bateau est de quatre Piastres pour ces dixhuit milles. Les navires reçoivent ces marchandises à bord pour les porter à Detroit ou Michillimakinac et le fret de douze barils ou leur équivalent est de dixhuit piastres jusqu'au Detroit.

Cette manutention avoit donné lieu à des plaintes reiterées des Commerçans. La cour ou ses representans vendoient le privilege de cette navigation depuis Niagara et son portage jusqu'à Detroit à des particuliers qui recuperoient leurs avances en elevant le fret au double de ce qu'il auroit du être. Comme ces monopoles ne peuvent subsister sous le Gouvernement americain on peut s'assurer que ce fret exorbitant sera reduit à moitié et peut être a moins aussitot que le privilege exclusif sera annullé et la liberté de la navigation etablie sur les Lacs. On peut aussi esperer que jamais ni Droits ni peages ne surchargeront ce Commerce.

Suivant le raport des bateliers que j'ai eu occasion de questionner le fret du quintal de marchandises d'Albany au Fort Schuyler est de huit Shellings ou une Piastre et celui du Fort Schuyler à Niagara de  $\frac{3}{4}$  de piastre. Ce calcul est assés analogue à ceux qui precedent quoique sous une forme différente.

*Detroit.* Enfin les marchandises arrivent à Detroit: c'est une ville assés considerable située entre le Lac Erié et le Lac Huron: quelques navires sans s'y arretter continuent jusqu'à Michillimakinac; d'autres restent à Detroit et ces deux places commerçants immediatement avec les sauvages je vais donner une idée de l'un et de l'autre et ensuite entrer dans le detail de ce qui est commun à toutes deux.

Detroit est un etablissement ancien qui avoit déjà beaucoup de consistance au tems de la Domination françoise: il y a beaucoup de maisons riches et solides: mais les meilleurs commerçans sont anglois. Les ecritures s'y tiennent en monnoye de New York: Beaucoup de françois cependant s'y servent encore des denominations françoises et la plupart des gagés, bateliers et coureurs de bois sont françois: Détroit est entouré d'une Estacade et suffisamment fortifié contre les sauvages.

<sup>35</sup> See map in *Doc. Hist.*, II. 792.

<sup>36</sup> \$30. Fort Schlosser was a little above the Falls, on the American side.

Les commerçans canadiens font tous leurs efforts pour empêcher l'évacuation de cette place.

Il en est de même de Michillimakinac et ils ont déclaré à la Cour de Londres dans leurs représentations *que si ce Poste étoit évacué trop précipitamment il falloit s'attendre à voir passer la plus importante partie du commerce des fourrures entre les mains des américains et des françois leurs alliés.*

Michillimakinac est en effet le centre du Commerce des fourrures du plus grand prix, ce sont celles du Nord tandis qu'on n'apporte à Detroit que celles du Sud qui sont d'une moindre qualité: on y tient tous les ans une foire ou marché qui dure depuis le 1<sup>er</sup> Juillet jusqu'au 15 août. Les Européens et les Indiens s'y rassemblent et les échanges s'y consomment. L'argent est de fort peu d'usage dans ce Commerce et si l'on en éprouve quelque fois le besoin le papier que les marchands accredités mettent en circulation y supplée; il n'y a que quatre ou cinq familles établies dans cette place<sup>37</sup> dont le sol stérile ne pourroit nourrir une population nombreuse: La garnison est peu considérable et ne subsiste que des vivres envoyés de Montreal et du Detroit; La position de Michillimakinac est très avantageuse: Les Lacs Michigan et Huron se rapprochent et communiquent leurs eaux dans un Detroit au milieu duquel est situé l'Isle de Michillimakinac. Le Lac Superior s'écoule dans le Lac Huron très près de cette Isle qui est comme au centre commun de ces trois mers et cette situation heureuse en a fait l'entrepôt d'un commerce immense qui s'étend des régions les plus septentrionales jusqu'au delà du Mississippi.

Les expéditions qui se font de Schenectady pour Detroit ou Michillimakinac sont de deux sortes: les unes se font sur les demandes et pour le compte des marchands de ces deux places par ceux de Schenectady qui sont dans l'usage d'accorder aux premiers un crédit de dix à douze mois: quelque fois aussi, mais rarement, le marchand de Schenectady entre en compte à demi avec son Correspondant à Detroit ou Michillimackinac.

D'autres expéditions se font sans l'intervention des marchands de ces deux places. Ceux de Schenectady envoient eux mêmes des agens avec les Batteaux et ils les chargent de faire eux mêmes immédiatement la Traite avec les sauvages. Il y a aussi beaucoup de petits marchands qui possesseurs d'un capital peu considérable forment leurs assortimens à Newyork ou Schenectady ou arrivent d'Europe avec des assortimens tous formés à l'exception de quelques articles dont ils peuvent se pourvoir en Amérique. Ils accompagnent eux mêmes leurs pacotilles jusqu'à Detroit ou Michillimakinac. Les uns vendent leurs marchandises dans l'une de ces deux places; Les autres poussant l'opération aussi loin qu'elle peut aller vont euxmêmes traiter dans les établissemens sauvages jusqu'à douze ou quinze cens milles de distance.

Rien n'exclut les françois de l'une ou de l'autre maniere de commercer et l'expérience leur prouvera quelle est celle qui peut leur être la plus avantageuse.

Les expéditions de Detroit ou de Michillimakinac pour les établissemens sauvages se font sous l'autorité et par la direction des officiers qui commandent dans ces deux places: Il est probable que cette pratique qui existoit déjà lorsque le Canada étoit à la France aura également

<sup>37</sup> But Major Caleb Swan, U.S.A., in 1797, found 89 houses and stores there. *Medical Repository*, I. 516.

lieu quand ces postes auront été évacués et remis aux Etats unis. Il est en effet nécessaire qu'il y ait un chef autorisé à envoyer les traiteurs dans les différentes places, à empêcher que par ignorance ou par une concurrence mal entendue ils ne se portent en foule vers le même lieu tandis qu'ils negligeroient d'en pourvoir d'autres. Le Commandant assigne donc à chacun son poste et les uns et les autres partent en Juillet pour leurs destinations. Ils naviguent dans des canots d'écorce qui portent cinq hommes; Les uns ont à bord les propriétaires: les autres sont confiés à des agens intelligens et fideles; la cargaison est divisée en paquets pesant 90 lbs. afin que les gens du canot puissent les porter eux mêmes dans les portages. Le canot est tiré à terre toutes les nuits: on met les marchandises sur le rivage et le canot sert à les couvrir. l'opération est faite en cinq minutes: La valeur de la cargaison d'un canot est de huit à douze mille livres tournois.<sup>38</sup> Les gages d'un canotier sont de quinze à vingt livres par mois; on leur donne en outre de la farine de mahis<sup>39</sup> et de la graisse d'ours. Ces provisions et le poisson qui[ls] peuvent prendre sont leur principale subsistance pendant près d'une année qu'ils passent quelques fois dans ces voyages éloignés. Ils prennent aussi du Rum et d'autres liqueurs fortes avec eux; et cette denrée devient si précieuse à mesure qu'ils s'éloignent des établissemens europeens, qu'ils sont obligés de la cacher en terre pour empêcher les sauvages de la leur dérober et pour prévenir les excès auxquels elle porte ces peuples moins accoutumés à l'ivresse que ceux qui habitent plus près des Lacs.

Ces canots partis de Michillimakinac ou de Detroit n'arrivent qu'au mois de novembre et même quelque fois plus tard au lieu de leur destination après une navigation de trois à quatre mois; les plus entreprenans vont dans les lieux les plus éloignés parceque plus ils s'avancent plus leurs marchandises ont de valeur et moins les fourrures ont de prix. Plusieurs canots suivent ordinairement la même destination et lorsqu'ils sont arrivés au lieu où la traite doit se faire les chefs sauvages s'assemblent et viennent les trouver; quelque fois ils assignent aux canotiers la Bourgade où ils peuvent aller vendre leurs marchandises. Mais plus souvent les canotiers ou marchands les remettent aux chefs sauvages, et en attendant le retour de ceux-ci ils passent l'hiver dans des cabanes qu'ils se construisent près des rivières et Ruisseaux qu'ils ont remontés. Ce tems d'inaction dure jusqu'à quatre et cinq mois; après ce terme c'est à dire vers le mois d'avril les chefs sauvages viennent retrouver les traiteurs avec les peaux de castor et fourrures qui forment l'équivalent des marchandises d'Europe qui leur avoient été confiées; les comptes sont très aisément réglés quoiqu'il n'y ait point d'écritures. Si les chefs doutent de leur mémoire quelques marques qui[ls] font avec du charbon sur une des planches de la cabanne leur suffisent et à leur retour la distribution des marchandises destinées à payer celles des Européens se fait avec la plus grande fidélité; on jugera aisément que la traite est tantôt plus, tantôt moins favorable au marchands d'Europe; s'il y a un trop grand nombre de traiteurs, aventuriers ou pacotilleurs, les marchandises d'Europe sont avilies; celles des sauvages acquièrent une plus grande valeur comparative et l'Européen pour les obtenir est obligé de donner une plus grande partie des siennes. Il en est de même si les chasses ont été mauvaises; les peaux et fourrures étant plus

<sup>38</sup> \$1600-\$1900.

<sup>39</sup> Maïs, maize.

rare les sauvages qui savent que les traiteurs ne remporteront point leurs marchandises se font payer les leurs par une quantité plus considérable de celles d'Europe. Si l'abondance des marchandises d'Europe au lieu où se fait la traite concourt avec la rareté des peaux et fourrures la perte sera très grande pour le Marchand Européen mais le contraire arrive et la traite lui devient extrêmement avantageuse si les chasses ont été très productives ou si les traiteurs et pacotilleurs d'Europe sont en petit nombre, et si ces deux circonstances concourent ensemble, ce commerce donnera des bénéfices immenses. Les traiteurs ayant reçu leurs marchandises qui sont ordinairement rassemblées en paquets du poids de cent livres chacun se remettent en route pour revenir dans leurs canots à Michillimakinac ou à Detroit et ils sont de retour au mois de Juillet.

Je ne suivrai pas la marche des marchandises données par les Sauvages en échange de celles d'Europe. Il s'agit aujourd'hui de les faire arriver à Newyork par une voye naturelle et aisée aussitôt que les Forts seront évacués, et il ne sera pas difficile alors de les détourner du chemin forcé que les Canadiens leur font prendre vers Montreal. On peut juger qu'aussitôt que les obstacles seront levés elles se dirigeront d'elles mêmes vers le nouveau canal puisqu'il y a trente six portages de Montreal à Michillimakinac, par la grande riviere.<sup>40</sup> Les canadiens préfèrent cette communication à celle des Lacs parcequ'elle est plus directe et plus courte. Ils mettent ordinairement six semaines à se rendre de Montreal à Michillimakinac. Ils connoissent toute l'importance de ce Commerce et c'est pour le conserver qu'ils s'efforcent de faire différer l'évacuation des forts et places par lesquelles il se fait. Ils font aussi les dispositions nécessaires par en retenir la principale partie lorsque l'évacuation aura eu lieu. Il est inutile d'entrer ici dans le détail de ces dispositions, mais il faut convenir que l'attachement des sauvages à leurs anciennes habitudes, la pente naturelle du Commerce vers les grands capitaux et les établissemens tous formés donnent un grand avantage à Montréal: mais c'est précisément pour balancer cette supériorité qu'il paroît indispensable d'éclairer de bonne heure les Commerçans françois; de les exhorter à se tenir prêts à commencer au moment de l'évacuation et même à faire quelques essais peu considérables auparavant. S'il est une Branche de Commerce avec les Etats unis qu'on puisse encourager hardiment c'est surtout celui des fourrures, et je n'hésite pas à dire que je les considère comme un des plus avantageux à faire avec eux. Mais quoiqu'on puisse exciter les marchands françois à s'y livrer il est à propos qu'ils ne le fassent qu'avec les précautions propres à prévenir les pertes que plusieurs ont supportées dans des opérations d'un genre différent. Ils ne doivent pas ignorer que ce Commerce exige des avances, que le crédit qu'il faut accorder aux canotiers et agens n'est pas exempt de danger; la plupart d'entre eux sont exacts dans leur payemens; mais il faut les connoître; Ils portent les marchandises qui leur sont confiées à des distances et dans un pays où la justice ne peut les suivre; ceux qui sont infidèles partent avec les marchandises qui leur sont confiées et ne reviennent jamais. ces pertes sont couvertes il est vrais par les grands bénéfices de ce Commerce; mais il est encore plus sûr de ne pas s'y exposer et les marchands établis anciennement sur les lieux connoissent si bien les Agens qu'ils emploient qu'ils ne sont presque jamais trompés. Les risques de

<sup>40</sup> The Ottawa River.

la navigation et des avaries sont de peu de consequence; les assurances ne sont point connues.

Je conseillerois donc aux françois qui voudront entreprendre le Commerce des fourrures de le faire par euxmemes ou d'être extremement circonspects dans le choix de leurs correspondans: ceux qui s'etabliront à New York ou à Schenectady feront aussi très bien de ne pas se borner à ce Commerce; mais d'ouvrir en même tems un magasin pour vendre dans le lieu de leur residence. Le Commerce qu'ils y feront se combinera très bien avec celui des Lacs.

Les marchandises propres à la traite avec les sauvages sont bien connues de ceux des françois qui ont fait autrefois ce Commerce par le Canada; mais comme il peut etre survenus quelques changements à cet egard je vais faire mention ici des principaux objets qui entrent dans les Cargaisons qui remontent la riviere du Nord et celle des Mohawks.

Les gros draps de laine teints en bleu à large lisiere de vingt deux verges (yards) sur six quarts. La piece couloit quatre livres Sterling en Angleterre.

N.B. Les anglois ont imités toutes les etoffes de laine que nous etions dans l'usage de vendre aux Sauvages: la qualité et les couleurs leur plaisoient; nous n'aurons à cet egard qu'à suivre les anciens modeles.

Les Calamandres à larges rayes de la derniere qualité; la piece de 28 verges à 1 Shelling Sterling la verge.

Les toiles blanches à un Shelling Sterl. la verge.

Les toiles peintes de couleur rouge.

Les rubans verds, rouges, et jaunes de quatorze verges la piece; 4 Shellings 6 pence Sterling la piece.

Chapeaux très communs avec des galons faux.

Des guetres de drap d'une forme particuliere comme de nos Commerçans.

Du vermillon, 4 Shill'gs 8 p[ence] Sterling la livre.

Des bourses de cuir pour mettre le vermillon.

De petites malles de cuir.

Des miroirs de trois à 6 pouces de dixhuit à 24 Shellings Sterling la douzaine.

Des trompes d'Allemagne.

Des chaudrons de cuivre de differentes dimensions qu'on envoie placés les uns dans les autres.

Des marmittes de fer pour les sauvages sedentaires.

Fusils du modele françois à 15 Shellings Sterl. carabines, balles, poudre à tirer qui doit être de la meilleure qualité. Les anglois la vendent aux Sauvages à raison de quatre livres Sterling le quintal.

Tomohawks ou cassetetes; hachettes avec une pipe, couteaux à escalper.

Grains de porcelaine de diverses couleurs.

Anneaux de cuivre pour mettre aux doigts.

Le Wampum se fabrique en Amérique. Il y en a une manufacture près de New York: on le fait de l'ecaille d'une espèce d'huître que les Americains appellent clam.

Quant aux marchandises de retour, elles consistent principalement en fourrures et pelletries, peaux de Martres, de castors, de loutres, de loups, de chats sauvages et d'ours.

Une cargaison de marchandises d'Europe bien assorties pour la traite avec les Sauvages est à peu près de même volume qu'un cargaison de retour en fourrures: Les fourrures seroient même d'un moindre encombrement que celles d'Europe destinées aux Sauvages si l'on ne joignoit à celles ci une partie de Wampum qui est peu volumineux et fort cher.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*A Guide to World-History.* By ANDREW REID COWAN. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. viii, 424. 15 s.)

THE author of this work was probably little known to historians until his earlier book, *Master-Clues in World History*, was utilized by Mr. Wells in his *Outline of History*. This former treatise embodied the author's philosophy of history, namely, that the most important factor in cultural development and in the life and vicissitudes of states has been the contacts of social groups. As the nature and extent of such inter-group relations have been controlled primarily by geographic conditions, Mr. Cowan gets back fundamentally to an anthropogeographical interpretation of history. The ideal site for cultural evolution and stability is one where there is enough natural protection to prevent excessive frequency of destructive invasions and yet not sufficient obstruction to travel to produce geographical isolation and cultural stagnation. To this general view of historical causation should be added his logical and legitimate deduction, granting the validity of the premises, that "no nation or empire ever succumbed by its own vices, but was always overborne by barbarians or less civilized outsiders". The invention of gunpowder was of revolutionary importance, as it created an effective artificial protection of the settled cultures against the nomads who had throughout earlier history been their superiors in the art of war.

The work under review constitutes an effort to illustrate the concrete application of these theoretical principles, by means of a succinct chronological résumé of universal history, covering events in the countries of the Far East as well as those of the Mediterranean basin and the Western hemisphere. The author's objects are specifically declared to be the following:

1. To indicate in a summary fashion all the fundamental principles necessary to evaluating world-history.
2. To apply these principles in unusually comprehensive fashion by treating Japan, China, India, Persia, America, etc., as prominently as the classical cultures that have too often practically monopolized the stage.
3. By a substantially novel method of assembling facts into periods to induce a sense of simultaneousness lacking in other histories.
4. So to link up principles and details that readers intent upon exploring areas not charted by the author may haply find the book to act as a compass in their individual ventures.



Mr. Cowan's success in executing this ambitious programme is far from notable. The first thirty-eight pages constitute admirable prolegomena to social and cultural history, though it may be doubted that *all* of the principles necessary for the interpretation of history are therein embodied, and there are several anthropological anachronisms. Nineteenths of the book is, however, devoted to a scanty, arbitrarily conceived, and none too accurate, though often suggestive, epitome of universal history. The history of the world is blocked off in chronological periods, varying in length from milleniums to centuries, and then the selected world-events are successively enumerated by country for each period. The treatment of the modern period is childishly superficial, the developments since 1500 being covered in less than sixty pages. His "substantially novel" historical method, then, seems to be a combination of the earlier devices of Eusebius, the Magdeburg Centuriators, and the Kaiser. There is little opportunity or evidence of special talent for interpretative exposition, and as a summary of the facts of universal history the book is greatly inferior to the old manual of Ploetz.

More important, however, is the fundamental methodological and historical error underlying his whole conception of world-wide chronological synchronisms. Those things which may be truly synchronized in history are rarely of historical significance. While successive cross-sections of historical events may be helpful for certain purposes, the whole notion is non-historical or anti-historical. The key to dynamic history and historical interpretation is not to be found in the progression of temporal dates or concrete events then taking place, but in the growth of culture and institutions. The most impressive fact to be observed, as one looks over the world in any chronological period, is not the similarity of civilizations and the uniformity of cultural evolution, but diversity and striking inequalities in the degree of institutional development. An effort of Cowan's type is, then, fundamentally misleading in its attempt to substitute artificial episodal synchronisms for a dynamic pluralistic conception of cultural genesis. Scientifically-minded historians are now coming to see that generalized and universal historical periodization and chronology, aside from elementary pedagogical convenience, can rarely possess any validity. Periodization, to mean anything, must be confined to a single country or cultural unit. Even within the same nation the different phases of culture show marked divergences in rapidity of change and development. A comparison of the relative state of cultural evolution, broadly considered, in England, Russia, and Japan in 1825 A.D., or of the relative degree of advancement in religion, art, literature, science, and technology in England in 1660, as compared with the present, will be sufficient to show the irrelevancy, inadequacy, and confusion of conventional historical periodization and chronology. Mr. Cowan should stick to the field of the geographical and social background of history.

The criminal code ought to be extended to cover the cases of authors, especially of books of this sort, who include no table of contents whatever!

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

*La Pensée Grecque et les Origines de l'Esprit Scientifique.* Par LÉON ROBIN, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. [*L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, dirigée par Henri Berr, no. 13.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1923. Pp. xxi, 480. 15 fr.)

By "Greek Thought" the author means specifically Greek philosophy, and incidentally the science which was born with it and with which it was intimately connected throughout its course. The work is a history of Greek philosophy down to and including Plotinus. It fittingly takes its place in the series of volumes edited by H. Berr on the Evolution of Humanity, for the Greeks in their philosophy and their science were the discoverers, not to say the creators, of man's powers of reason to understand and control himself and his world. Moreover, this is to be noted, that whereas the history of science is chiefly of interest to the erudite, that of philosophy is itself philosophy and is of intrinsic, as well as of historical, interest to the philosopher, who is to-day dealing with the same fundamental problems as the Greeks, largely in terms which they invented, and whose thought, so far from ignoring, he can often do little more than repeat and reinterpret.

The story of Greek philosophy has often been told and the outlines of the development are fairly clear. M. Robin does not widely depart from the usual scheme in dividing his subject. What distinguishes his treatment is, along with the admirable arrangement of the material and the lucidity of exposition which we are accustomed to expect in French writers, accurate scholarship, discriminating judgment, and the historical spirit exhibiting itself in the synthetic order of development both of the systems of the individual philosophers and of the connected movement of Greek speculation as a whole. Fully realizing the many and great difficulties arising from the fragmentariness and corruption of texts, questions of authorship, conflicts of tradition, obscurities of thought, and the like, M. Robin avoids the extremes of over-timid caution on the one hand and on the other of excess of hypothetical construction, brilliant, but insecure. Thus, as against Burnet, he finds insufficient data for a separate treatment of the teachings of Pythagoras, the early Pythagoreans, and the later members of the school, but, in contradistinction from former writers for whom Pythagoreanism was little more than an irrelevancy, he himself recognizes almost as fully as the English scholar its influence. Again, while admitting that the "Being" of Parmenides was "physical", he points out quite properly that it is easily identified, through the logic of the system, with the changeless Idea or Ideas. And instead of identifying with Burnet the

historical Socrates with the Socrates of the Platonic dialogues, making an arbitrary break at the *Republic*, he leaves that great figure, after adequate discussion, still a good deal of a mystery and elects conservatively to follow Aristotle as, on the whole, our safest guide to the understanding of the Socratic doctrine.

An outstanding feature of the work is the large amount of space given to the exposition of Plato and Aristotle, seventy-four pages to the former and eighty-three to the latter. A more accurate and careful analysis of Plato's dialogues, arranged according to the now generally accepted order and exhibiting the progressive development of Plato's thought, has never before been achieved within the same space. The same may be said *mutatis mutandis* of the account of Aristotle. A novel feature of the latter is the order of treatment, for whereas it is common to begin with the *Logic* and *Metaphysics* and then go on to the special disciplines, ending up with the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* as pendants, our author begins with the *Logic* as furnishing the *organon*, then takes up the "poetic" writings and so on through the "practic" and the "theoretic" sciences, reaching the *Metaphysics* last of all. Whatever may be thought of this arrangement in other respects, it serves as used here to leave a unified impression of an encyclopaedic genius who, in the opinion of the author, was both too much and too little of a philosopher.

A bibliography of 182 topically arranged titles adds to the value of a book which is itself richly documented, no ordinary text-book, but a highly condensed, yet vivid and illuminating piece of historical writing.

H. N. GARDINER.

*The Book of Esther in the Light of History.* By JACOB HOSCHANDER, Ph.D., Instructor in Cognate Languages in the Dropsie College. (Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. 1923. Pp. ix, 318. \$2.50.)

IN a day when Esther is so universally interpreted as a romance it is not a little surprising to find a modern scholar maintaining that it is history. But this is exactly what Hoschander does. The book with slight revisions (based largely on the Septuagint) is historically true even to its smallest details. Ahasuerus, however, is not to be identified with Xerxes, but with Artaxerxes II. Vashti is an epithet of Queen Stateira, who owed her fall to the jealousy of the queen mother, Parysatis. The other characters in the book are not identified with historical personages, but it is argued that they actually lived and had all the experiences recorded of them. The edict of Haman against the Jews is identified with a supposed edict of Artaxerxes II., making the worship of Anahita compulsory throughout the empire. The term "Jews" is to be understood as meaning, not necessarily the Jewish people, but the faithful adherents of the Jewish religion. These because of their religious scruples would be chiefly the ones to oppose the new worship

and hence fall under the displeasure of Haman. Esther's banquet is interpreted on the basis of Herodotus I. 133 as an occasion for the king to deliberate upon an affair of state when drunk, and Esther took advantage of his drunken condition to accomplish the overthrow of Haman. However, since a royal decree could not be reversed, Haman's decree against the Jews still stood and it was left to Mordecai to devise some way of overriding it. This he did by gaining permission from the king for the Jews to defend themselves against its execution. Thus the day that was to have marked the complete annihilation of the Jews, the day of the feast of Farwardigān, became the day of their deliverance and by the direction of Esther and Mordecai was ever afterwards to be celebrated as a festival, the feast of Purim. The feast is accordingly secular in origin and intimately connected with a Persian festival. In order to safeguard its use the Sopherim rather reluctantly took it over and introduced the story of its origin as a reading in the synagogues, thus giving it some religious significance but without changing the non-religious character of the story itself. A Jewish eunuch may have been the author of the story. In any case he and his fellows as eye-witnesses of the events were the chief sources of information.

Hoschander's thesis naturally raises a host of questions. He would seem to have established the fact that the story of Esther is a reminiscence of a Jewish persecution in the reign of Artaxerxes II. If he had been content with this, he would doubtless have been well received; but his attempt to prove the book correct even in minute details is too haggadic to be convincing. There is too much imaginative filling out of incidents, too much reading between the lines, and too many assumptions. Only in Esther is it recorded that a Persian edict could never be reversed. There is no real evidence that the worship of Anahita was forced upon the Persians by royal decree and that the penalty of disobedience was death. It came with the natural reaction against the rigorous reform of Zoroaster. Hoschander has read so extensively in his subject that it is surprising to find no reference to J. H. Moulton, particularly his *Early Zoroastrianism*. On page 301 Anahita is called "the highest of the Amshaspands", but this would seem to be a slip. Elsewhere she is correctly described. In the matter of style Hoschander has a peculiar predilection for the word "latter". His book is a scholarly effort and must be given serious consideration.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

*La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka (Açoka-Avadāna) dans les textes Indiens et Chinois.* Par J. PRZYLUSKI. [Annales du Musée Guimet: Bibliothèque d'Études, tome XXXII.] (Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1923. Pp. xvii, 460. 50 fr.)

THIS book is a worthy product of the French school of what we might call "Sino-Indologists". Led by such men as Sylvain Lévi and Paul Pelliot, this school is combining Indic and Chinese evidence to illu-

minate the comparatively unknown history of early Buddhism in northern India.

M. Przyluski translates a Chinese version of the Sanskrit Aṣṭkāva-dāna. The historic value of this treatise lies not in its information about the Emperor Aśoka (its account of him consists mainly of trivial or fantastic legends), but in its evidence on the development of early Buddhism. The major part of Przyluski's book, therefore, is devoted to a study of this evidence, based on a comparison of the text translated with other Chinese and Indic versions of the same and other works.

He shows that the familiar distinction between "northern" and "southern" Buddhism breaks down for early times. Instead we may speak of "eastern", "central", and "northwestern" Buddhism; and these three types are, roughly speaking, chronologically successive.

1. Down to the end of the third century B.C., Buddhism centred in Magadha. It was a simple, unmetaphysical, popular religion of morality. Its goal was merely heavenly life, not *nirvāṇa*; and its method good works, not world-renunciation.

2. In the second and first centuries B.C., the centre of gravity shifted to central India: to Kauṣāmbī (the Sthavira school, using the Pāli language) and Mathurā (the Sarvāstivādin school, using Sanskrit). Under brahmanical influence, Buddhism became monastic and metaphysical; the world-renouncing monk (*arhat*, combining features of the brahmanical *rishi* and *yogin*) became the ideal, and *nirvāṇa* the aim.

Remaining in this dogmatic stage, the Sthavira school spread southwest from Kauṣāmbī, following the trade-route to Ujjayinī and Barygaza, whence it was transported to Ceylon, along with its (Pāli) sacred texts. But:

3. The Sarvāstivādin school spread from Mathurā along the northwestern trade-route to Taxila and Kashmir. In the northwest, under the influence of foreign invasions, it reacted from the metaphysical monasticism of the central period. The *arhat*, aiming at personal *nirvāṇa*, appeared selfish, and was displaced by the Bodhisattva, who deliberately remains in the world to bring salvation to his fellow-men. This prepared the way for Mahāyāna Buddhism, the "religion of humanity".

As early as the second period, in Mathurā, Przyluski finds Iranian influence, especially in certain features of Buddhist eschatology (fiery hells, the Messianic doctrine of Maitreya, the prophesied destruction of the faith after a thousand years)—some of which were borrowed from Mathurā by the Sthaviras of Kauṣāmbī, and hence appear in Pāli Buddhism.

Przyluski's array of facts is most instructive and stimulating; his argumentation is always intelligent, and often convincing. He is himself well aware that he is comparatively a pioneer, and that much similar work remains to be done before all his provisional results can be accepted with confidence. Especially his theories of Iranian influence, ingenious though they are, seem to need more definite support.

Regarding "Kashmirian" Buddhism, one cannot help thinking of the Bhāgavata religion, which developed about the same time (or a little earlier) and had some similar tendencies (the emotional appeal, and the emphasis on love of mankind). Later Mahāyāna Buddhism, like Krishnaism, has much to say of religious "devotion" (*bhakti*). The Benagar inscription shows that as early as ca. 100 B.C. Krishnaism made converts even among the Greeks of northwest India. Krishnaism does not seem to be mentioned in Przyluski's book, doubtless because it lay outside the scope of his inquiry. It seems likely that a final treatment of the origins of Mahāyāna will have to account for the similar tendencies which appear in Krishnaism too.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

*Les Saints Stylites.* Par HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE. [Subsidia Hagiographica 14.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes; Paris: Auguste Picard. 1923. Pp. vii, cxcv, 276.)

As early as 1894 the eminent Bollandist H. Delehayé, in a paper read at the Congrès Scientifique Internationale des Catholiques in Brussels, called the attention of scholars to the body of material still extant concerning that strange group of Oriental hermits and monks who from the fact that they lived on pillars were commonly called Stylites. In recent years a large number of studies have appeared on the most important members of this class of ascetics, and various attempts were made to connect the origin of their peculiar mode of life with certain specific practices of some ancient pagan cults.

In the present volume Father Delehayé gives us the Greek texts of several lives of the famous Stylites St. Daniel, St. Alypius, St. Luke, and several chapters of a long biography of the Younger Simeon, a complete edition of which is being prepared by Professor Van den Ven of Louvain. The texts are taken from the best manuscripts and carefully collated. The interest which this hagiographic literature arouses, and the light that these documents throw not only on the method of hagiographic composition in general, but also on certain aspects of the popular interpretation of the Christian religious ideal in the East and in that period, make us regret the lack of a complete, critically edited Corpus of the lives of the Stylites.

But thanks to Father Delehayé we have at least in the long introduction to this book (185 pages) not only an exhaustive survey of all the material still available, but also a highly instructive and comprehensive view of this peculiar and extraordinary feature in the history of Christian asceticism. The first six chapters are devoted to six prominent Stylites of whom we possess extensive lives, Simeon the Elder, whose biography was published by Lietzmann (*Das Leben des Hlg. Symeon*, Leipzig, 1908), Daniel, Simeon the Younger, Alypius, Luke, and Lazarus of Galesion. The various Greek or Syriac biographies of them are analyzed and on the data thus obtained, combined with other

historical sources, an outline of the life of each of them is given, fixing the chronology and discriminating the legendary elements of the narratives.

The seventh chapter ("Les Stylites à travers les Ages") explodes the common opinion that this extravagant mode of ascetic practice had only very few representatives in the fifth and sixth centuries. The long list of names of Stylites and the documentary evidence on which it is based show on the contrary that the number "est véritablement étonnant", that they were regarded as forming a distinct monastic class which enjoyed much consideration, and moreover that Stylites are to be found in each century up to the sixteenth in various eastern countries. Even in the seventeenth century there is mention of a Stylite living on the top of the Olympieion of Athens, and in the nineteenth century of one in Georgia. In the West the institution did not thrive. An attempt was made in Gaul during the sixth century, but the bishops of the province threw down the pillar, and condemned the practice. Father Delehaye expresses his gratitude for the wisdom of those bishops.

The last two chapters, the most remarkable of the book, deal with the daily life of the Stylites and their relations to the monastic institutions. The various practical difficulties of living continuously and during many years on the top of a pillar are examined in detail, and all evidences are critically weighed, with the result of proving that we are really dealing with facts and not mere imaginative descriptions.

On the question of the origin of this practice, Father Delehaye rejects the opinion of Zoeckler (*Askese u. Mönchtum*, 1897) and of Toutain (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1912) that Stylitism is to be connected with an ancient Syrian rite of Hierapolis. According to Delehaye "il n'y a point d'emprunt: il y a adaptation originale, due à des circonstances fortuites, des pratiques ascétiques en vigueur". To prove this theory he gives a masterly description of the environment in which Stylitism was born and explains the rise of this extraordinary religious phenomenon by the intensity of the monastic and ascetic life of the region. In the end Father Delehaye points to the analogies and differences between the Stylites and Indian ascetics.

The reader cannot help feeling that in the present work the eminent Bollandist has taken a more conservative attitude toward the Stylites than he has shown in other works toward other classes of hagiographic heroes. The opinion that the Stylites are not to be considered "ni des faibles d'esprit, ni des orgueilleux, ni des fanatiques", that "leur spiritualité est saine d'ordinaire", and that Stylitism is not at all "une déviation du monachisme", may be rather extreme. But we agree entirely with the learned author when he concludes: "Le Stylitisme a fleuri dans des conditions qui n'existent plus, et nous l'ajouterons franchement, dans des conditions dont le retour n'est pas de tout point souhaitable."

GEORGE LA PIANA.



## BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*The Cambridge Medieval History.* Planned by J. B. BURY, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History. Edited by J. R. TANNER, Litt.D.; C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, M.A.; Z. N. BROOKE, M.A. Volume IV. *The Eastern Roman Empire (717-1453).* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. xxxvi, 993. 11 maps. 50 s.)

As Professor Bury explains in his admirable introduction: "The present volume carries on the fortunes of a portion of Europe to the end of the Middle Ages. This exception to the general chronological plan of the work seemed both convenient and desirable." "For it enables us to emphasize the capital fact that throughout the Middle Ages the same Empire which was founded by Augustus continued to exist and function and occupy even in its final weakness a unique position in Europe—a fact which would otherwise be dissipated, as it were, and obscured amid the records of another system of states with which it was not in close or constant contact."

The plan followed may be described approximately, but not exactly, as follows: chapters I-IV., XI., XII., XVI., give a chronological history of the Empire to 1261; chapters XIV. and XV. describe the Fourth Crusade and the Latin states which were an outcome, to 1571; chapters VII., VIII., XVII., XVIII., the northern neighbors of the Empire; chapters IX. and XIX., the relations between the Church at Constantinople and that at Rome; chapters XXII.-XXIV., law, government, administration, and civilization of the Empire; chapter V., the struggle with the Saracens; chapter X., Moslem civilization of the Abbassids and Seljûqs; chapter XXI., the Ottoman Turks to the Fall of Constantinople; chapter VI., Armenia; chapter XIII., Venice from its beginnings to 1201; chapter XX., the Mongols.

There are fifteen authors and the reasons for the choice of most of them will be apparent to anyone at all familiar with the field. Diehl writes five chapters in all: two on the history 717 to 861; two on government and civilization; for these his competence is undisputed and some portions are among the most interesting in the volume; his chapter on the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Empire will be mentioned later. Miller also contributes five chapters: on the first Bulgarian empire; on Greece and the Aegean (1204-1571); on the empire of Nicaea; and on the Balkan states, 1186 to 1483. His studies on all these subjects are well known and have already been noticed in this *Review*. The late Ferdinand Chalandon contributed the two chapters on the Comneni. His two volumes on their reigns have also been noted in this journal. In his second chapter he carries the history a little farther than in his second volume. To Louis Bréhier were entrusted the two chapters on the relations of the churches, on which he had already written so brilliantly. H. F. Brown, of course, writes on Ven-

ice; and the late Sir Edwin Pears, the chapter on the Ottoman Turks, in which the history of the Empire from 1261 to 1453 is to be sought. The Abbé Vogt, author of the monograph on Basil I., has two chapters on the Macedonian dynasty. Loewe, of Queens College, Cambridge, writes the section on the Seljūqs and a chapter on the Mongols, which is excellent, the best summary we have, without exaggeration or attempted exculpation. The choice of Brooks and Vasiliev for the chapter on the early struggle with the Saracens and of Arnold for the civilization under the Abbassids needs no comment. Professor Kadlec of the University of Prague writes on the northern neighbors, from Scythians to St. Stephen; and Jagič, emeritus professor in the University of Vienna, on the conversion of the Slavs, with full knowledge and due consideration of the subjects under controversy. Macler of the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes writes on Armenia; and Collinet of the University of Paris, on Byzantine legislation from 565 to 1453. To these must be added Professor Bury, who supplies the introduction and a summary of chapter V. We wish that we might have had more from his pen. In fact, the lack of any chapter by him is the most regrettable feature in the volume.

In general the plan and choice of subjects for chapters require little comment. The volume brings out the position of the Eastern Roman Empire as a world power and its relations not only to its neighbors but also to the Western Empire. We regret the omission of a chapter on the internal history of the Empire from 1261 to 1453. It is not possible in a chapter on the Ottoman Turks to pay due attention to the vicissitudes of the Empire and the reasons for its weakness. The assignment of only a single chapter for a description of Byzantine civilization for a thousand years seems inadequate, but the pitfalls which beset anyone attempting such a task have been successfully avoided by Diehl. The inclusion of the history of Venice from its earliest days is necessary, as Bury shows (p. xiv) in a passage which I would gladly quote if space allowed.

The writings and opinions of most of the authors are so well known that comment is unnecessary in the case of most of the chapters. The execution naturally varies greatly. Some chapters, like the fifth, for which Bury thought it wise to add a summary, and the one on legislation, are little more than chronicles of fact; others, notably the chapter on Venice and the one on the Mongols, are good illustrations of the marshalling of facts so that the whole account is interesting and illuminating. The chapter on the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Empire, especially in its earlier pages, contains errors in dates and misleading statements. In the chapters on the Comneni Chalandon showed himself less of an apologist for the emperors than in his previous writing, but he retained some of the errors which were characteristic of his viewpoint. On page 334 the crusaders under Peter the Hermit are said to have "behaved on their journey through the imperial territory like mere

brigands, plundering, burning, and sacking wherever they went". The sources show that this is entirely untrue. On page 338 it is stated that Tancred did not take an oath to the Emperor Alexius. Anna Comnena and Raoul of Caen say that he did.

The present volume contains a brief list of corrigenda; three items for volume I., two for volume II., seventeen for volume III. The next volume will need a much longer list. Among the errors I have noted are: Ecloga wrongly dated 740 (p. 11), although the correct date was given on page 5; the death of Stephanè given as 1163 on page 171 and as "after 1164" on page 375. On page 155 it is stated that Armenia was ruled for sixty years (633-693) by Byzantine officials; on page 188, that "during the reign of the third Caliph, Othman, the Arabs consolidated their power in Armenia". On page 278 there is a reference to the kingdom of Lesser Armenia before the end of the eleventh century, although elsewhere the founding of the kingdom two centuries later is accurately described. On page 599 the date of the Council of Piacenza is given as 1094; on page 603, the date of the death of Henry VI. as 1198. The index also would have profited by more careful editing. As this volume will frequently be used as a reference book it is unfortunate that it is not more accurate.

The bibliographies as a whole are excellent. In the one for the Mongols a useful innovation is the asterisk prefixed to the more important works. The one for the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Empire is very short, as compared with the others; even in such a brief list Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo*, and Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte*, should be included. In the bibliography for Armenia the *Assises d'Antioche*, published at Venice in 1876, should be included, as these laws were used in the kingdom of Lesser Armenia. In the bibliography for chapter XXIV. we miss some titles given in the bibliography to chapter XXI. of volume III. which are pertinent even under the limitations laid down by Diehl. Also in the bibliographies there are inaccuracies: the quotation of the same book with slightly different titles, and incomplete or inexact references.

These minor faults are annoying because this volume is a welcome addition to our material on the Eastern Roman Empire and the peoples and states which moved within its orbit. It will cause more scholars to enter into this fascinating field for research. As yet there has not been sufficient study to bring about a consensus of opinion on many subjects; hence the contradictory statements by the different authors, of which some are mentioned by Professor Bury or in the notes. Everywhere the opportunity for further critical study is apparent, and this volume will be a useful guide.

DANA C. MUNRO.

*Une Vie de Cité: Paris de sa Naissance à nos Jours.* Par MARCEL POËTE. Tome I. *La Jeunesse: des Origines aux Temps Modernes.* (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1924. Pp. xxxi, 626. 35 fr.)

THIS is a work of major importance to students of medieval history, whether political, social, or economic, covering as it does in authoritative detail the annals and life of the most important city in Continental Europe, from its first settlements down to the middle of the fifteenth century.

The volume, a fine specimen of typography, is broken into thirty-two chapters, written with that clarity and precision which seem the peculiar qualities of historical books in the French language. From the standpoint of the working scholar, however, there are two physical drawbacks, both somewhat serious. First of all there is no index, and not even an analytical table of contents. Doubtless the promised concluding volume on modern Paris will carry an index for the entire work, but as the present book stands it is often no light task to bring into view a desired reference from a volume of 626 pages, aided only by short chapter titles which are not always self-explanatory. The second fair criticism comes from the complete absence of foot-notes and references. The work is far too ambitious to pass for merely popular reading, and it will disappoint many an American scholar to read such a significant chapter as the twenty-sixth, on "Le Monde qui s'Ouvre (XIII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècles)", and be denied the least hint in the text of the basis for the extremely curious and detailed picture of Parisian economic life therein presented. In fairness it should be said, however, that this second criticism is mitigated by the excellent introduction (pp. x-xxxi) giving a critical account of the archives, "documents narratifs", statistical data, and "historiens de Paris" on which the work is founded.

After making these two deductions from the practical availability of the volume, it is proper to say that its text deserves the highest praise. A very slight acquaintance with the problems of medieval social history will make one appreciate the wealth of meticulous learning, ennobled by a broad and sympathetic scholarship, which has gone into this book. One shudders at the physical task of assembling the wealth of concrete facts, often going down to the very niceties of local history, concentrated into one steadily advancing human narrative. The book in fact is almost as full of information as an egg is of meat, yet is devoid of all pedantry, and affords an excellent example of the best type of French historical synthesis. This very circumstance makes detailed reviewing difficult, especially as most of the opinions advanced upon general matters are uncontroversial. The general student will probably find the most interesting sections in such chapters as those on Roman Paris in the early Christian Centuries, upon the Hansa of the Water Merchants in the twelfth century, and upon the expansion of commerce and industry in the thirteenth. On pages 476 to 511 is the most detailed, dramatic, and apparently accurate account of the career of Étienne Marcel and his tragic attempt to glorify

the Parisian bourgeoisie that seems available in any book for general reading. The last two chapters (among the best) are given over to a vivid and detailed description of Paris as it existed about 1450 A.D., although the author has somewhat succumbed to the temptation of so many students of the Middle Ages, and has dwelt too largely upon "la beauté urbaine", somewhat to the ignoring of the squalid and repulsive aspects of the period.

Not the least valuable part of the work is a copy of a clearly engraved and very informing map, originally published about 1550 A.D., showing the streets and buildings of Paris while they still retained their pronounced medieval features.

This book in short is one to be added to the private shelves of American scholars, and it will prove a godsend to the libraries of institutions which can not attempt to purchase collections of expensive monographs or large sets of documentary material.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

*History of Iceland.* By KNUT GJERSET, Ph.D. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1924. Pp. vii, 482. \$4.00.)

THIS is a study of the origin of the Icelandic nation; its early progress; subsequent decline and loss of independence; and recent rejuvenation, marked, in 1918, by restoration as a sovereign state. The sparseness of Iceland's population, combined with the unusual abundance of its historical records, enabled the author to bring out clearly the interdependence of the different phases of national life: political degeneration, economic depression, intellectual decline, and religious and moral deterioration are usually found at one and the same time.

The author hints at, but does not state definitely, the very interesting fact that Celtic Christianity preceded the Roman faith in Iceland, being introduced from the British Isles where it lingered for several centuries after the followers of Columba were vanquished at the Council of Whitby, in 664. Roman Christianity was brought in from Norway and was adopted by action of the Althing in the year 1000. But for centuries after this event the feudistic ideals which had characterized the heathen period persisted, and finally led to such anarchic turmoil as offered Norway ample excuse for assumption of control. After the Reformation, however, the spirit of Christianity gradually transformed the turbulent, hot-headed Icelanders into a people remarkable as respecters of law and friends of peace. The new ideals were well tested during the long struggle with Denmark for the recovery of lost liberties. Petition, protest, and negotiation were resorted to again and again, and even boycott was finally employed, but never once was violence attempted. Dr. Gjeraset declares the present-day Icelanders to be "the most orderly and law-abiding people in the world".

An especially interesting section describes the struggles of Denmark with foreign interlopers. First came the British, who long fished in Ice-

landic waters and traded in the ports of the island in contempt of Danish prohibitions and protests. But when the Hamburg merchants entered the prohibited field, the King of Denmark, by favoring them, finally succeeded in ousting the British traders. The fishermen, however, struggled to maintain their precarious hold, with the result that, according to Jón Stefansson, Henry VIII. of England twice negotiated with the Danish king for the purchase of Iceland (*Denmark and Sweden with Iceland and Finland*, pp. 162-163). But Dr. Gjerset makes no mention of such an attempt at purchase and does not comment upon the statement of Dr. Stefansson. Consequently, the reader who is already familiar with the brief treatise of the latter may be left somewhat uncertain whether such important negotiations really took place.

The book is well-balanced and adequately documented, but the omission of a bibliography is regrettable. A more generous use of commas in certain places would have enabled the reader to grasp the thought more quickly. Accent marks are here and there omitted from Icelandic words, and the following typographical errors have been noted: "treatise" for treaties (p. 433); "Ireland" for Iceland (p. 345); "wetted" for whetted (p. 109); and "individualistics" for individualistic (p. 313). In the section dealing with Icelandic immigration to America there is a slip of another sort. Allusion is made to "Grafton, in Marshall County, North Dakota" (p. 466). Grafton is in *Walsh* County, North Dakota, while *Marshall* County is across the state line, in Minnesota.

As a whole, the book is sound and scholarly, and is a fit companion for the author's *History of the Norwegian People*. Moreover, it constitutes the first real history of Iceland in English, and is perhaps the best work on the subject in any language, with the possible exception of Icelandic. It will be welcomed alike by students of literature and of history.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

*The History of Ireland.* By STEPHEN GWYNN. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. viii, 549. 12 s. 6 d.)

IN this well-printed but somewhat bulky volume Mr. Stephen Gwynn undertakes to present a "summary outline of Irish history" from pre-Christian times to the adoption of the Free State constitution. "I have studied Irish history", he explains, "as a means to understand my own country, in which I have lived long and travelled much, about which I have written much, and for which I have worked; and in so far as I have felt able to interpret the past, it has always been in the light of the present that I knew." The unostentatious use of this wide knowledge of the Ireland of to-day and yesterday is felt throughout the book.

Mr. Gwynn is specially interested in politics, and for him history is chiefly past politics. The book is in the main a narrative of political events, told with considerable detail. The topical treatment of historical matters is strictly limited, and for the most part introduced here and there

incidentally to the narrative. The political, however, has not been the strong side of Irish national life, and the author would have been well advised to have curtailed the space allotted thereto in order to give fuller treatment to such subjects as early social conditions; early medieval literature and art; the organization and work of the so-called Celtic Church; the efforts by which the Catholic religion maintained itself through the years of persecution; the influence of Ireland on the outside world through successive emigration movements. It is curious to find a history of Ireland of this size in which no mention is made of Columban or of Johannes Eriugena. Mr. Gwynn has evidently deliberately confined his attention very closely to matters lying within the four seas of Erin; yet of the western isle too it may be said "they little know of Ireland who only Ireland know". Comparatively generous treatment has been granted economic conditions during the last three centuries, though even here it would seem that more attention should have been given to "co-operation" and to "labor" in the years which led up to 1916.

A few minor errors of fact, and a very few misprints, have been noticed.

The book is not designed for the use of the special student. An analytical table of contents is a need which the index only very partially supplies; as an index it is admitted to be "technically" incomplete. There is no bibliography—unless we regard as such the acknowledgment in the preface of peculiar indebtedness to a small number of publications—and there are practically no references to sources. The only extra-textual helps to the reader are two maps, one of 1923, the other of 1567, both on too small a scale to be of real service.

The historical treatises mentioned in the preface as forming the basis of the work are among the best of their kind. There are many others, however, which seem to have been neglected. In particular, there is no evidence that adequate use has been made of valuable studies in French, German, and other Continental languages—the writings of such men as Arbois de Jubainville, Zimmer, Bonn, Roger, Gougaud, Marstrander, Czarnowski.

Nevertheless Mr. Gwynn's work is valuable. It will give the general reader a clear comprehension of the past which lies behind present political and economic conditions. The author's sanity, his impartiality, his sympathy, his understanding of political affairs, his literary skill serve him well in the task of historian, and in a broad survey his presentation of the long drama of international and interracial relations from the Elizabethan conquest to the Sinn Fein revolution takes on something of the appearance of a masterpiece.

JAMES F. KENNEY.



*Mediaeval England: a New Edition of Barnard's Companion to English History.* Edited by H. W. C. DAVIS. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1924. Pp. xxi, 632. 21 s.)

For those that have not known this delightful book in its earlier form a word of general description may be necessary. The *Companion* in the edition of 1902, and to-day, contains articles by various writers on selected phases of early English life and thought, each article being more or less chronological in arrangement and covering the period to the Tudors. The subjects chosen for discussion in this edition are: architecture, costume, heraldry, shipping, town and country life, the orders of clergy, learning and education, art, coinage, and trade. Of these, as the very brief preface states, the chapters and sections on ecclesiastical architecture, monks, friars, and secular clergy, handwriting, printed books, and coinage have been written anew. Political history is omitted, perhaps to the advantage of a book of this kind, where so brief a statement as would be necessary might become perfunctory; but the reader is much less easily reconciled to the exclusion of any discussion of early English literature, and of early English law. The illustrations, especially the reproductions made from illuminated manuscripts, add greatly to the charm of the book. A comparison inevitably suggests itself with the excellent volume on *Medieval France*, edited by Mr. Tilley, which includes chapters on geography, political history, and literature, but omits some subjects treated in the *Companion*.

Although where a large field must be covered in a few pages the discussion becomes occasionally a summary of fairly well-known facts, yet it is on the whole the virtue of the book that it avoids this evident danger, dealing with the inner meaning rather than the outward forms of medieval life. Thus the delightful chapters on heraldry, architecture, and handwriting might easily, in less skillful and sympathetic hands, have become merely technical treatises. The danger of overlapping material has also been well avoided by the editor, while one of the instructive features of the book is that it enables us to regard from unusual angles events and movements worn somewhat threadbare in their conventional treatment. The influence of the Whitby decision on handwriting and art is a case in point, and also the effect of the Black Death on art.

A serious question is raised, it may seem to some readers, by the inclusion side by side with authoritative articles representing the last word of modern scholarship, like Mr. Little's contributions, of other articles by scholars no longer living, whose work, meritorious when written, no longer contains the sum of modern research and study. Actual mistakes can be corrected, essential additional facts can be added by so learned and experienced an editor, but the point of view from which the earlier article was written might have been different if the same scholar with larger knowledge were rewriting it to-day, and there may therefore be a certain

posthumous injustice done. A great deal of water has flowed under the bridge, for example, since Mr. Warner wrote on rural life in medieval England. One writer, wrongly reputed dead, has made his vigorous protest on this general matter in a recent number of the *Literary Supplement* to the *London Times*. Changes made by the editor in the earlier articles are in no way indicated in the text. It is true that in a work of this character foot-notes would be out of place and a detriment to the appearance of the well-printed pages. The lists of books of reference given at the ends of the sections are admirable in their content, but short and necessarily, therefore, highly selective. The individual reader will often probably want to make additions. Dr. Gras's work on the *Customs Revenue*, for example, would be of interest in connection with the late Mr. Leadam's article on Trade and Commerce, and Miss Power's recent work, perhaps published too late for inclusion, in illustrating monastic life. The arguments of Mr. Loomis for an Anglo-Saxon origin of the Bayeux tapestry should perhaps be referred to in connection with that great work of art.

Criticism, while inevitable in dealing with a book that covers so many phases of English life, yet seems a little ungracious in view of the pleasure and profit so many readers will derive from *Mediaeval England*—be they students entering on their first study of medieval history or general readers of intelligence, with literary and artistic interests, or readers more learned in particular subjects seeking to enjoy the fruit of the labor of other scholars in other fields of English life and thought.

N. NEILSON.

*Europe, 1450-1789.* By EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER, Professor of European History in the University of Michigan. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1923. Pp. xvii, 871. \$3.50.)

THIS book of 871 pages purports to tell the story of life in Europe during the three and a half centuries lying between the fall of Constantinople and the opening of the French Revolution. The first chapter is devoted to a survey of medieval Europe in which feudalism, life on the manors, and the growth of towns are adequately dealt with, but in which is omitted all mention of the rise of the universities and the various streams of mystical and rationalistic thought that did so much to create the modern world. The chapter on the Renaissance is also largely a summary of what took place before 1453; and at least ten others of the twenty-six chapters go far back into the medieval centuries to take a long running jump at the period with which the book professes to deal.

A wide conception of history is displayed in the remaining pages that confine themselves to the years lying between the Turkish occupation of the imperial city on the Bosphorus and the meeting of the States-

General at Versailles. The military, political, economic, social, scientific, philosophical, artistic, and religious aspects of life are all included in the story. In the main they are treated in a very satisfactory manner. Particularly successful is the clear and attractive account of political and economic events and institutions. The author has here shown us that fields which have been often reaped, and even some that have been painfully gleaned, are still capable of yielding a rich harvest of interest.

It is otherwise, however, when we come to philosophical and religious matters. The history of philosophy is one of the most fascinating stories any historian has to tell. But in order to present in an effective manner the story of the life and work of the makers of modern philosophy, to sketch the forces and circumstances which molded them and gave to their thinking its tone and tendency, and to show in some adequate manner how each received the problem of philosophy from his predecessors, and what solution of it he handed down to his successors, a strictly chronological account of the various thinkers is necessary, and the failure of the book to treat the philosophers with whom it deals in the proper order of time is to be regretted.

The six sentences on page 694 relating to the Anabaptists and their descendants are wholly unsatisfactory, if not actually misleading; and on the following page there is no mention of the most distinguishing characteristic of the Quakers. It is a common thing to find these mystics of the Reformation unjustly ignored or cruelly misrepresented in historical narratives; yet time is surely, if slowly, delivering its sufficient verdict on the Anabaptists. There are still graver errors in the account of religious matters. Nowhere is the theology of Luther, or that of Calvin, completely and correctly explained. The statements on pages 194 and 195 regarding Luther's pivotal dogma and its discussion by the Council of Trent show a complete misunderstanding of the subject. How was it possible for the Council to consider the acceptance of a doctrine that automatically rendered the entire priesthood and all the sacraments unnecessary?

The book is generously supplied with maps. There are forty-three of them, of which one deals principally with geography, two with ethnography, six with economic or religious matters, and the remainder with military or political affairs and conditions. A few of them are too crowded with detail; but the technic of all of them is excellent.

In conclusion it may be said that the value of this book, written with admirable fairness, is greatly increased by the fact that it recognizes the unity of movement in human thought and life. The details of intellectual, artistic, and religious activity are shown to be symptomatic of the life of the time, to have their counterparts in the general social life of the people. This constant recognition of the solidarity of life gives vitality to the book and increases its power of illumination.

EDWARD HULME.

*Early Treatises on the Practice of the Justices of the Peace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.* By BERTHA H. PUTNAM, Ph.D., Associate Professor in Mount Holyoke College. [Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, edited by Sir Paul Vinogradoff, vol. VII., no. XIII.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1924. Pp. ix, 424. \$4.70.)

FOUR treatises dealing with justices of the peace were being frequently reprinted during the sixteenth century and have until now formed the principal source (after the statute book) of our knowledge of the working of that institution. The first of these, the anonymous *Boke of Justyces of Peas*, is here critically examined, its bibliography provisionally settled, and its sources traced. The outcome is the important discovery that it is a misleading piece of work by a compiler who failed to distinguish in his sources between documents which came there as archives of the clerk of the peace, and those which belonged to the clerk of the crown. The two jurisdictions are very different, although the offices were often held by the same man. This confusion results in the *Boke*—and modern historians who have relied upon it—attributing to justices of the peace some powers which at that time they did not and could not exercise. But Miss Putnam makes handsome amends for depriving us of one source by giving us two others. The first is a book of forms dating from ca. 1422 (printed here, pp. 237–286), which is much earlier, more reliable, and all but exhaustive in its presentation of the work of the justices. Legal historians will find in it a valuable supplement to the *Registrum Omnium Brevium*. The second (pp. 286–414) is a reading upon the peace by Thomas Marowe in 1503 which was used extensively by Lambarde and Crompton in their later treatises. It is an elaborate discussion of the jurisdiction by a thoroughly competent serjeant, and as usual in such readings, it discusses the subject from a more theoretical standpoint than do the manuals of practice which till now have been our sole material.

Naturally, many questions of great importance are raised in the course of the work, and Miss Putnam contributes to their discussion a considerable quantity of new material drawn from her wide knowledge of manuscript sources. A notable example is the relationship of the justices of the peace to the courts at Westminster and to the visiting commissioners of gaol delivery and oyer and terminer, which is an obscure but central problem with reflections perhaps in the history of the clerks of the peace and of the crown. There are other interesting observations upon various legal points raised by Fitzherbert and Marowe, the eligibility of women for the commission, the authorship of certain works sometimes attributed to Fitzherbert, and the history of the Marowe family.

The bibliography of treatises on justices of the peace (pp. 224–237) adds much new detail to a complicated subject, and we believe that the

policy of transcribing Marowe's law-French outlined in pages 286-288 satisfactorily meets a troublesome difficulty; in a legal text of this date it is hard to believe (until philologists shall have established the contrary) that final flourishes deserve more respect than Miss Putnam accords them.

Of matters of detail there is little to say. On page ix the "Biographical" should be, of course, the Bibliographical Society; on page 13 "vre" (conjecturally emended to "use") is fairly frequent in law-French for "use" and still survives in the compound "enure". Page 196, note 2, is a reference to *Olive v. Ingram*, where it is said that "the *Mirror of Justices* mentions women justices of the peace" which struck the author as "strange", since that institution did not exist when the *Mirror* was written. The solution is simple; the *Mirror* does not say "justices of the peace", but "judges".

Numerous cross-references and a careful index make easily accessible the varied material contained in the book, and Miss Putnam is to be congratulated upon so substantial a contribution to the sources and history of the justices of the peace. Her work has all the qualities of learning, originality, and attractive presentation which distinguish the *Oxford Studies*, published by the Clarendon Press under the editorship of Sir Paul Vinogradoff.

THEODORE F. T. PLUCKNETT.

*The Elizabethan Stage.* By E. K. CHAMBERS. In four volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1923. Pp. xli, 388; vii, 557; v, 518; v, 467. £3 10 s.)

IN 1903 Mr. E. K. Chambers published two volumes on the *Mediæval Stage* which threw a flood of new light on the subject and marked an epoch in its study. Now he appears with a continuation of his theme in four stately volumes entitled *The Elizabethan Stage*. The earlier volumes were of little less interest to the historian than to the student of literature, for they were full of information, critically handled and clearly presented, on social and economic conditions. The new volumes are even more important to the historian, both because they are devoted, not to the drama as a literary form, but to the stage as a social institution, and because they cover in larger space a briefer period—and a period of unusual historical significance, that from the accession of Elizabeth to the death of Shakespeare.

The scope and interest of the volumes are well indicated by the titles of the main divisions of the work: "The Court"; "The Control of the Stage"; "The Companies"; "The Playhouses"; "Plays and Playwrights".

Book I. (vol. I., pp. 1-234), entitled "The Court", consists of seven chapters, all of which are of value for the historian. Chapter I., on Elizabeth and James, displays with an excellent bibliography and full documentation the attitudes of these two sovereigns towards pub-

lic social functions and the general aspects of court life in the two reigns. Chapter II., the Royal Household, is a detailed study of the organization of the royal household with particular reference to the authority and activities of the Lord Chamberlain, the Treasurer of the Household, and the Privy Council. Chapter III., the Revels Office, presents the most complete study that has yet been published of the officials and machinery for the control of court entertainments. Chapters IV., V., and VI. give a survey of pageantry in general as distinguished from masques and plays, an historical sketch of the masque (or mask, as Mr. Chambers prefers to call it), and an analysis of this type of entertainment as it existed in the Jacobean period. To the student of literature pageantry and masques are of subordinate interest, but to the historian of taste, manners, and social forces, as well as to the economist, their importance can hardly be exaggerated. Chapter VII., the Court Play, discusses, not the subjects or technique of the plays, but the general arrangement and conditions governing the presentation of plays at court.

Book II., "The Control of the Stage", occupies the rest of volume I. (pp. 235-388). It is divided into four chapters, the titles of which are self-explanatory: VIII., Humanism and Puritanism; IX., the Struggle of Court and City; X., the Actor's Quality; XI., the Actor's Economics. Each of these chapters summarizes a vast literature of information and discussion, gives full references for facts and opinions, and presents the conclusions of the author upon the many difficult questions involved. The chapters of this volume and the appendixes in volume IV. are perhaps the parts of the work which are of greatest value to the social as distinguished from the literary historian, though the other volumes are also rich in information and suggestions.

Book III. (II. 1-350) is devoted to the actors. In chapter XII., after an introductory discussion of the companies of boy actors and the causes which led to their organization and controlled their activities, the history of each of these companies is given in condensed form but with great detail. Chapter XIII. furnishes similarly detailed accounts of the adult companies, and chapter XIV. discusses the Italian players in England and the English players in Scotland and on the Continent. Chapter XV. is a brief biographical dictionary of all the actors of the period whose names have been handed down.

Book IV., "The Playhouses" (II. 351-557 and III. 1-154), discusses the difference between public and private theatres and after a history of each of these devotes a chapter to a general discussion of the structure and conduct of theatres, a chapter which of course contains many interesting glimpses of life in Elizabethan and Jacobean London. Then follow three chapters on staging, entitled respectively Staging at Court, Staging in the Theatres—Sixteenth Century, and Staging in the Theatres—Seventeenth Century.

Book V., "Plays and Playwrights", consists of three chapters. Chapter XXII., the Printing of Plays (III. 155-198), discusses the re-

lations between publishers and the sources of their texts, with the vexed problems of shorthand reports and "stolne and surreptitious copies". Incidentally, light is thrown upon such subjects as the influence of the conditions of publishing upon the quality of the texts and form of the stage directions. The rest of volume III. (pp. 199-518) is occupied by chapter XXIII., a brief biographical dictionary of Elizabethan playwrights. Under the name of each known playwright are given in condensed form the records concerning his life, a list of plays ascribed to him in whole or in part, with brief statements of any problems involved, and references to the principal discussions of them.

Volume IV. brings the completion of the study of plays and playwrights, and appendixes and indexes to the four volumes. Chapter XXIV., Anonymous Work (pp. 1-74), lists in alphabetical order the anonymous plays, masks, and receptions and entertainments, with information and bibliographical details similar to those furnished for plays by known authors. A list of the appendixes (pp. 75-406) will show that they are not the least interesting and important features of the work: A Court Calendar, Court Payments, Documents of Criticism, Documents of Control, Plague Records, The Presence-Chamber at Greenwich, Serlio's *Trattato sopra le Scene*, *The Gull's Hornbook*, Restoration Testimony, Academic Plays, Printed Plays, Lost Plays, Manuscript Plays. The indexes are four in number: of plays, persons, places, and subjects. Though accurate, they are selective rather than complete, and, however regrettable this may be, it was clearly inevitable, in view of the enormous mass of detailed information contained in the volumes.

No doubt the foregoing survey of the volumes has seemed mechanical and unduly detailed, but the volumes are in truth a complete systematic encyclopaedia of information upon all points relating to the production of plays during the greatest period in the history of the English drama. Of course I do not mean to assert that the work is flawless. Perfection is neither attainable by a human author nor admissible by a human reviewer. Critics will point out that the bibliography of the royal household is not quite complete, that the discussion of the influence of the followers of Vitruvius upon stage architecture and settings is less full than it might have been if the author had known Dr. L. B. Campbell's recent volume, and that the account of Mr. Pollard's studies on dramatic publication is not entirely satisfactory; but in the end it must be admitted that no other work exists or ever has existed that deserves comparison with this, either as a guide to information and opinion or as a presentation of the most authoritative conclusions in this field. Heretofore not only the general reader, but even the specialist, has been appalled by the enormous mass of information and discussion. Mr. Chambers has made it possible to form independent judgments on disputed points without devoting a lifetime to each of them.

JOHN M. MANLY.



*Un Témoin Ignoré de la Révolution: le Comte de Fernan Nuñez, Ambassadeur d'Espagne à Paris, 1787-1791.* Par ALBERT MOUSSET, Archiviste-Paléographe. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1924. Pp. ix, 356. 25 fr.)

Is the reputation which the French have acquired in the field of diplomacy to be explained in some degree by the activity of their editors of documents in publishing the sources of diplomatic history? This work has progressed in France to a degree unrivalled in the United States, and, we believe, in any other land. Such a devotion to the sources for the history of international relations makes it all the more surprising that this vitally important Nuñez correspondence has only now been exploited for the first time. It would be difficult to find a body of official letters as interesting and significant as those of the Spanish ambassador at the court of Versailles during the two years before and after the convocation of the Estates General. The failure of the royal family's flight from France marks the tragic *dénoûment* of this series of despatches, though M. Mousset carries the embassy's record through the declaration of war against Great Britain on the first of February, 1793.

A terrific upheaval like the French Revolution is sure to leave a plethora of material for the historian. Among such a mass of records, for accuracy of fact, though not for sympathetic understanding of great social and political transitions, the despatches of the various diplomatic representatives in France cannot be surpassed. It is the chief business of such agents to make precise and accurate reports to their principals. There were at least two diplomatists of conspicuous perspicacity and literary ability who witnessed at first hand the events of the Revolution and who wrote minutely and thoughtfully on what they saw. Both were hostile. One was the one-legged bachelor tobacco merchant, the versatile and brilliant Gouverneur Morris, a representative of the recently established republic which had such a great influence on French political thought. His letters, written first as a private individual to George Washington, and later as the minister of the United States to Jefferson, and also to President Washington, have long been a valued historical source. The other, Count de Fernan Nuñez, was a highly polished Spanish nobleman, of wide European experience in various courts, particularly the Bourbon courts. He and his Countess, *une Espagnole fort piquante*, with *un dent noir et un autre qui sort du rang, comme les officiers à la parade* (this is his own description of her), and their numerous progeny lived and worried through those four hectic years. Their eighth child was born as they passed through the Netherlands on their way out of France in the autumn of 1791. These family facts should not escape a notice by the reviewer. They are the subject of frequent passages that enliven with quick personal interest the recital of many a prodigious political event. They add an element to the narrative that does not exist in the letters of the unworried Morris.

For the student of diplomatic history the Nuñez despatches vividly illustrate the passing of an old order, the domination of Europe by the Family Compact. The way in which Pitt broke down that compact during the Nootka crisis by taking advantage of the paralysis of France is told in detail and with dramatic interest in the day-by-day narrative of the Spanish ambassador, who had seen from the beginning that the Revolution would, as Burke later described it, create a political vacuum where France had been. The Nootka affair, which was the end of the compact, was really the beginning of the Anglo-Spanish rapprochement which was to produce a complete reversal of position when Spain joined the First Coalition. Nowhere can the student follow with greater clarity and instruction this remarkable sequence of events. It is no wonder that Nuñez, as well as the French court, believed that the Revolution was helped along by British funds. There is also a chapter illustrating the attitude of Spain—aloofness and unwillingness to go in the wake of France—during the earlier affairs of the Russo-Turkish and the Northern wars.

The most important revelation of the correspondence is the intimacy of Nuñez in the plots of Marie Antoinette and the royal family to escape from France. Louis XVI. deposited with the King of Spain, through Nuñez, a solemn repudiation of all the acts of the National Assembly after June, 1789, to which he had solemnly consented publicly, a repudiation to be given to the world at some future opportune time. The queen plotted desperately in private interviews with the ambassador. Secret messages, burned by the ambassador in his own fireplace, went back and forth between the Queen of France and the King of Spain. All to no avail. Of sympathy Charles IV. had much, of inclination to intervene with no guaranty of allied help, none. And he had unhealthy fear of the contamination of Spain by the ideas of the Revolution. These he tried to shut out by a *cordon sanitaire* maintained at the Pyrenees by eighteen thousand guards, by a rigid censorship of the press, and by a tyrannical inquisition of all Frenchmen residing in Spain. This effort is abundantly described in the letters which passed between the ambassador and Floridablanca.

The arrangement by the editor is the best for the general historical reader. He does not outline the correspondence chronologically, but groups the principal despatches, quoted at length, about the chief episodes of the time and persons concerned; the beginnings of the Revolution, counter-revolutionary plots, the fête of the Federation, the religious crisis, problems of diplomatic precedence raised by the gradual transfer to the Assembly of the executive power, the flight to Varennes. In this way he undoubtedly presents within the space of one volume a faithful summary of the several hundred documents concerned. The specialist will be perturbed at the lack of anything approaching a calendar, and will search in vain for things not connected with the main subjects elaborated under chapter heads. For example, the student of

early American diplomacy will find nothing there concerning the obscure negotiations in 1791 by which Jefferson, through Lafayette, sought to influence the French Foreign Minister, Montmorin, to induce Spain to yield the navigation of the Mississippi to the United States. But he will learn that Montmorin, tired of his job and disgusted at the Revolution, had other things to think about than forcing his one and sorely vexed nominal ally to do for the United States something she was then determined not to do. Nor does the editor embellish his material with very many helpful foot-notes. There are only a few references to anything but the *legajo* numbers of the documents cited. In this respect the work lags behind the best American standards of editing. The volume has the novelty, for French editions, of an index. The French translation of the Spanish text appears to be admirably done.

The omissions named are only perplexities for the specialist. The general historian and the student of the French Revolution may be well satisfied that he is not wearied by the tiresome superabundance of Castilian prose that inevitably accompanies any batch of Spanish diplomatic correspondence. The material as presented has not a dull page, and gives a record of capital importance, not diminished by the reflections which it is bound to stir up on revolutions of our own century.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

*Commercial Policy in the French Revolution: a Study of the Career of G. J. A. Ducher.* By FREDERICK L. NUSSBAUM, Ph.D., Professor of History in Temple University. (Washington, D. C.: American Historical Association. 1923. Pp. 388. \$1.50.)

In this study Mr. Nussbaum has brought into high relief one of the hitherto little noted figures of the French Revolution whose life included a career as consul, journalist, pamphleteer, and adviser to committees of the revolutionary assemblies. "G. J. A. Ducher was the author of an important body of legislation in the French National Convention, including, on the one hand, several restrictionist measures culminating in the Navigation Act and, on the other, several acts of administrative reorganization." Stated more fully,

Ducher brought about the establishment in principle of exclusionism in commercial policy, he completed, or helped to complete, the commercial unification of France, he reorganized the customs service on a strictly national basis, after the example of the United States, he established commercial advantages as objects of French diplomacy, as Vergennes had failed to do. From another point of view, it may be noted that practically all of the legislation relating to questions of commerce and administration, passed by the Convention between the downfall of the Girondins and the revolution of Thermidor, shows his influence or was entirely his work.

This thesis is supported not only by the close similarity between Ducher's proposals and the acts passed but by the explicit acknowledgment of mem-

bers of several committees with which he had close relations. The purpose of this study is, however, not primarily biographical. It is rather to illustrate, by means of an examination of the career and influence of Ducher, the progress and significance of the commercial revolution.

The significance of Mr. Nussbaum's work is fourfold. In the first place, it is an interesting example of the recent appreciation of the importance of the constructive work accomplished during the Revolution, especially of constructive work along economic lines. In the second place, it offers a new illustration of American influence. Ducher had made a special study of the American system and the French national customs organization was developed by the Convention under his influence upon the model of the American system. In the third place, Mr. Nussbaum points out the fact, hitherto little noticed, that there was a real economic difference between the Gironde and the Mountain in that the former was anti-mercantilist and the latter mercantilist. And finally, avoiding to a notable degree the besetting sin of the biographer, of over-emphasizing the subject of his biography, he succeeds in his purpose of keeping a proper relation between the career of Ducher and the movement with which he was connected. As Mr. Nussbaum says, "Ducher's was no voice crying in the wilderness". There was already a reaction to a new mercantilism and he was only its spokesman.

It is to be regretted, however, that the theses printed at the beginning of the volume are not stated a little less dogmatically. As they stand they hardly lead the reader to expect the moderation and balance by which the work is really marked. For instance, one thesis states that "the Gironde favored the slave trade, the Mountain was hostile to it". But in the text (p. 245) the writer says: "Perhaps it would be impossible to believe that the leaders of the Girondists would have opposed, openly at least, the abolition of slavery. It can scarcely be questioned, however, in view of the facts presented, that considerations of some sort, public or private, had dulled the pristine ardor of the Girondist leaders in the conflict against the slave trade."

The work has an admirable bibliography and index. It was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams prize for 1917.

ELOISE ELLERY.

*Wilberforce: a Narrative.* By R. COUPLAND, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1923. Pp. vii, 528. 16 s.)

PROFESSOR COUPLAND describes his work modestly as a narrative. He uses this form of historical writing not without design, for it enables him to secure two appropriate effects. In the first place, Wilberforce's militant piety, like that of all the Clapham sect, impinged upon several vested commercial interests within the empire; it importuned and shad-

owed contemporary statesmen; it intruded itself into international relations. A conventional biography covering so wide and varied a field would have become entangled inevitably in digressions and annotations. A narrative, restricting itself as this does to detail illustrating Wilberforce's own personal contact with men and events—his progression to "sainthood" through political combat—attains a vivid epic quality that a different form of presentation could not impart. The sequence of incident, scene, and episode creates an impression of lifelike activity, quickening many a phase of the later Georgian period that would be unattractive to readers if seen in a less personal guise. The slave trade, for example, loses here none of the sordidness that a Clapham pamphlet might try to convey; but even the slave trade becomes transmuted into a subject of compelling interest through this recital of Wilberforce's part in its abolition.

This skillful focusing of a whole era on one man's career has, too, the advantage of absolving the writer from the fathoming and construing of motives; and in dealing with humanitarians and their opponents this is a welcome simplification of the task. Further, in the case of Wilberforce, a narrative has this particular merit: a "saint", especially one who thinks and speaks in the evangelical idiom, is a baffling subject for a political historian; yet Wilberforce's intimate life in the sanctuary of his own mind is too essentially a part of him to be disregarded. With an air of respectful detachment, yet with unerring discernment, Professor Coupland lets a simple action, an occasional gesture here and there, suggest all this. The result is more a series of pictures than a direct character sketch—pictures drawn with lines that any but a sympathetic hand might have turned into caricature. Deftness in draftsmanship has brought out, inoffensively, the real Wilberforce—a decided addition to the historical portraits of the later Georgian era and a key to much of its political history.

Those who feel on familiar ground in Professor Coupland's work will regret that his adherence to narrative involved a brief mention only of the publication of *A Practical View of Christianity*, instead of a discussion of its bearing upon the political thought of the nineteenth century. If Wilberforce pitched his politics in a strain that both Shaftesbury and Gladstone caught, his conception of empire, shorn of its proselytizing, still gives direction to our more exalted political prophets; and a hint of this would have been in order. One conclusion that Professor Coupland reaches about the abolition of the slave trade—that it was the first movement in which a public protest was sustained through adequate organized effort—requires modification. The movement for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was already of respectable antiquity at the close of the eighteenth century; it was among the earliest causes, involving an appeal to justice, to devise a mechanism that should bring the whole force of a constitutional protest into play.

Professor Coupland has no new material to offer; and beyond Hansard his bibliography seems limited to a few—in fact, a surprisingly few—

standard books of reference. The small number of these would be the most misleading index of the value of his work, which is more the outcome of insight and reflection than of laborious research.

C. E. FRYER.

*Europe since 1815.* By CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN, Professor of History in Columbia University. Revised and enlarged edition. In two volumes. [American Historical Series, Charles H. Haskins, General Editor.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1923. Pp. xxi, 608; 609-1202. \$4.25 each; library edition, \$7.00 for the two.)

THE new edition of Professor Hazen's well-known and much appreciated book is almost twice the size of the original, which was published in 1910. The two hundred and fifty thousand words have grown to nearly five hundred thousand. More compact printing has enabled the publishers to put the enlarged work into two volumes of somewhat smaller size and yet preserve the pleasing typographical appearance of the earlier book.

The new matter relates almost exclusively to the momentous events which have occurred since 1910. For the earlier period the material in the original volume has in general been left unchanged, save for two new chapters on the Industrial Revolution and the rise of socialism and for numerous slight changes of phraseology to bring the narrative and comment into line with later developments. In order to cover the period from 1910 to 1914 Professor Hazen's method has usually been to revise and expand a little the concluding portion of several of his original chapters. Only in the case of Germany has there been any considerable addition. There is, however, a new chapter on the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Practically all of this new material, except the chapter on the rise of socialism and two other new chapters on the World War and the making of peace in 1918-1919, is drawn almost unchanged from Professor Hazen's smaller books, *Modern European History* (1917), *Fifty Years of Europe* (1919), and *Modern Europe* (1920). The altogether new and most distinctive feature of the revised work is to be found in seventeen chapters, making up about thirty per cent. of the whole text, on the important and puzzling developments since 1919.

These seventeen entirely new chapters are admirable. In fourteen of them Professor Hazen presents in clear, definite, and interesting fashion for each of the states of Europe which has been much affected by participation in the war a narrative of the most important events in its history since 1918 and a description of the situation in which it finds itself. No other brief treatment which has come under my notice at all approaches that of Professor Hazen for firm grasp of the important things and for clarity of presentation. The other three chapters, dealing with the League of Nations, the Washington Conference, and the eclipse of the Entente, are well done as regards their respective subjects, but taken col-



lectively are perhaps not quite adequate for a clear comprehension of the course of events in Europe at large and of the general international situation.

Professor Hazen's treatment of the period since 1914 will not give perfect satisfaction to all shades of opinion. It has already excited the ire of some of the more pronounced of those who appear to be over-influenced by emotional reaction from the strong feelings of the time of the war and so disposed to lean over backwards in favor of Germany that they are eager to acquit her of any special blame for the war. Professor Hazen does not hesitate to say that as far as the immediate occasion for the war is concerned the blame rests almost wholly on the Central Powers. To me this seems a sound judgment. The fact that Professor Hazen's account was written in 1916 and is now reproduced with but little modification does not amount to a seriously damaging condemnation. It does not indicate that no account has been taken of the flood of revelations which has come from the press since 1918. It simply means that for so short an account there is no special occasion to modify very much what was then written. Any long and detailed account written at that time would no doubt require considerable modification. Professor Hazen is perhaps fairly open to criticism for not going into greater detail on a subject of capital importance, but not for what he has actually written.

Except in the two chapters on the Industrial Revolution and the rise of socialism, attention is concentrated on political events. But economic and intellectual factors, while not discussed at length, are not disregarded. Their influence on political affairs is everywhere well recognized. The most serious omission is the failure to treat adequately international relations from 1871 to about 1912. The accounts of the more important matters in the international field which are scattered through several different chapters are uniformly good, but there is real need for a connected account of the subject which will give an adequate impression of the way in which international affairs affected the life of Europe in that period.

While there are numerous points of detail, especially in matters of opinion, about which I should differ with Professor Hazen, his book, taken as a whole, seems to me much the best of its scope that we have for European history since 1815 or for any considerable portion of it.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

*Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871.* Von ALFRED STERN. Band IX. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1923. Pp. xix, 590.)

THIS volume of the *Geschichte Europas* begins with a survey of French politics after 1860 and concludes with a commentary on the difficult position of Napoleon III. in 1866. But although the French emperor gets appropriate mention in the chapter on Italy and in the account of



the Polish rising, the central figure is of course Bismarck, and more than half of the book is devoted to German affairs from his appointment as Prussian minister-president to the Peace of Prague. The reviewer had hoped that Dr. Stern would allow himself a little more comment than he usually indulges in, and, as a lifelong liberal and patriotic German who has witnessed the collapse of the Bismarckian state, let us have his considered judgment on the methods and conduct of its founder. He has not done so, doubtless because he has been torn by conflicting emotions. For princely particularism and Austrian ambition he has no sympathy; also he does not withhold his admiration for the genius of the man who "rose above the Prussian to the German" (p. 285), who as far back as 1859 was hoping to make the German people the ally of Prussia in solving the German problem (p. 440). But press ordinances that "went beyond Napoleonic decrees" (p. 302), the treatment of the Duke of Augustenburg, and Manteuffel's harsh rule in Sleswick or the punishment of Frankfurt arouse his indignation. Perhaps Dr. Stern, like many others, regrets the methods of blood and iron, but believing that not otherwise could Germany have been unified, is unwilling to offer factious criticism.

The opening of the Vienna and Berlin archives and the recent publication of French diplomatic documents permit the author to throw not a little new light on many points and to correct Sybel or Friedjung from time to time. Bismarck's advice to Austria in October, 1862, was to transfer her attention, not to "the East", but to Hungary (p. 294). He was not greatly disturbed by the Fürstentag of 1863 (p. 314), and had little difficulty in persuading King William not to attend (p. 317). The protocols of the meetings of the Prussian cabinet show that although Bismarck had from the beginning of the Sleswick-Holstein dispute planned to annex the duchies, he revealed the design for the first time on February 3, 1864 (p. 353 and appendix 5, p. 586). In June, 1865, he was considering a *coup d'état* which would get rid of the recalcitrant diet and the existing constitution (p. 406 and appendix 6, p. 587).

In appendix 1 is printed the letter of March 28, 1863, in which Napoleon offered to Francis Joseph a formal alliance (pp. 577-578), which the Empress Eugénie regarded as a preliminary to a remaking of the map of Europe as fantastic as the schemes of Hertzberg in 1790. France was to get the left bank of the Rhine, Poland was to be restored under an Austrian archduke, Prussia was to take what she wanted north of the Main, the Ottoman Empire was to be partitioned, and dispossessed princes were to "civilize and make monarchies of the fine American republics, which would follow the example of Mexico" (pp. 164-165). Dr. Stern thinks that in 1865 Bismarck, *pace* Sybel, encouraged Napoleon to hope for expansion "wherever the French language is spoken" (p. 430)—Belgium, Luxembourg, French Switzerland (p. 431). Napoleon fell into the trap because, as he confided to the Austrian ambassador, Bismarck was "a very interesting man, as adventuresome as Count Cavour, but he

probably would not have the power to accomplish great things, since he did not have the support of the liberal and revolutionary party" (p. 431). In the negotiations for the Franco-Austrian treaty of June 12, 1866, Napoleon declared that he had ended his flirtation with Prussia and renounced the Rhine (p. 483); the Austrians stated that in the event of victory they would not object to the "transformation of the Rhine provinces into a new and independent state" (p. 484). After Sadowa the Empress Eugénie did everything in her power to force intervention (appendix 9, p. 589), and even urged the emperor to abdicate (p. 542). But Napoleon, although delighted by the Italian defeat at Custoza (p. 518), would only write a cool letter to the Austrian ambassador (appendix 10, pp. 589-590), advising Francis Joseph to retire from Germany; to which the latter's ministers were quite reconciled, for Austria had got "no advantage" from the Confederation (p. 541). Contrary to what has sometimes been stated, Kossuth gave his secret approval to the Klapka legion (p. 505). Shortly before the war the suggestion was made by Nigra and approved by Napoleon that Austria exchange Venetia for Rumania, where Cuza had just abdicated (p. 453).

The chapters on Russia, the Balkans, and England carry the narrative down to 1871. The content of the volume is almost exclusively political. No doubt in the next and last volume economic and religious developments after 1850 will be fully treated.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

*The Empire at War*. Edited by Sir CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. [For the Royal Colonial Institute.] Volume II. (London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1923. Pp. xi, 508. Maps. 25 s.)

THE first volume of this work, which was reviewed in the issue of this journal of October, 1922, traced the growth of war-time co-operation in the British Empire prior to 1914. The present volume gives a detailed account of the activities during the late war of those parts of the empire that are situated in the Western hemisphere. It is divided into six parts, of which the first, comprising approximately three-fifths of the whole, is devoted to Canada, the second to Newfoundland, the third to the British West Indies, the fourth to Bermuda, the fifth to the Falkland Islands, and the last, entitled "Patriotic War Effort outside the Empire", principally to the war efforts of British subjects and their immediate descendants in Argentina. Unlike the first volume, which was wholly the work of Sir Charles Lucas, the present is of composite authorship, though the editor generously assumes responsibility for the contributions of others.

It is appropriate that a history of the war activities of the empire should begin with the oldest and most important of the dominions. The editor sketches the history of Canada, political, constitutional, and economic, as well as military, during the war; and Professor F. H. Under-

hill, of the University of Saskatchewan, contributes a two-hundred-page history of the Canadian forces in the war. The story they tell is one of the highest significance for all students of the British Commonwealth, exhibiting as it does the full realization of Canadian nationhood and the co-operative basis of the relations between the Dominion and Great Britain. "The four years' career of her fighting troops in France", writes Professor Underhill, "forms the real testimony to Canada's entrance into nationhood, the visible demonstration that there has grown up on her soil a people not English nor Scottish nor American but Canadian—a Canadian nation." And no less momentous than the existence of this national sentiment is the fact that it was tempered by a sense of membership in a larger political community. As Sir Charles Lucas says, "Canada not merely acted with, but, to an appreciable extent, acted for Great Britain and the Empire". Sir Robert Borden insisted at all times upon the national status and rights of Canada, but he emphasized no less the necessity of maintaining the integrity of the empire.

The volume is copiously illustrated, and Sir Charles Lucas's name is a sufficient guaranty that the editorial work has been performed with scrupulous care. But it is unfortunate that in what is evidently intended to be an authoritative chronicle there should be no bibliography and almost no citation of authorities.

*The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia.* By ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, Professor of History in Clark University. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1924. Pp. xv, 500. \$5.00.)

"THIS is a pioneer attempt to tell the story of the international relations of Soviet Russia, 1917-1923." Professor Dennis is too modest in this first sentence of his preface, for "pioneer" suggests a rough-and-ready method. The subject-matter of the book is virgin forest, but in the clearing which Professor Dennis has made the streets are laid out with care and precision. It is urbane, highly civilized, and not at all "pioneer" in its method.

Of all those who were forced by the chances of war to study the development of Bolshevik foreign policy, Professor Dennis was perhaps the only one who was trained to critical historical study. It would have been a misfortune if he had not found time to arrange his unique material for publication. The subject is recondite, the book will be "caviare to the general", but to those especially interested in the subject it will be invaluable. No one but Professor Dennis could have done it adequately.

Monographs or magazine articles, of varying merit, can be found on the subjects discussed in the other chapters, but this is the first attempt I have seen in English at a scholarly and coherent account of the Russo-German peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. The story which Professor Dennis gives in his second chapter fits in remarkably well with my memory of those days in Petrograd. I had occasion to discuss these proceed-

ings with members of the Russian delegation, and he has caught their spirit admirably.

There is one slip in detail on page 6—perhaps a misprint—which should be corrected in the next edition. “The Bolsheviki”, he writes, “who were the extreme left wing of the Social Revolutionary party” . . . . This should read “of the Social Democratic party”. The left wing of the Social Revolutionary party called themselves “the Maximalists”. It is unfortunate that such a mistake occurs in a work so scrupulously checked up in other details that it deserves to be a permanent reference book on the subject. In the several chapters that deal with aspects of the subject with which I have some familiarity, this is the one case where I find occasion to raise a question of fact. It would be hard for any reviewer to give higher praise to scholarly care in such work.

In general, however, I doubt whether the author assigns sufficient importance to the influence of error, which affects all foreign relations—not only those of the Soviets. As chief of the Russian Division in the Department of State, I had to study the available records of the outbreak of hostility between the Soviets and the Czechoslovak legions. Professor Dennis, in chapter XI., has unravelled from the very tangled skein of evidence a coherent account of the incident, but I think that his account is a bit too rational—not giving enough heed to the disorganization of communications and the resulting fumbling on all sides. Days after the fighting had begun in Tchelyabinsk, the Supreme Council in Paris voted to transport the Czechs to the western front via Arkhangelsk! No one in France had adequate knowledge of what was happening in the Urals. The Czechs, hesitating on the border of Europe and Asia, were utterly bewildered by the contradictory news from Paris and Moscow. I doubt if Lenin and Trotski were better informed. The conquest of Siberia resulted quite as much from a misunderstanding as it did from any “policy”.

This criticism—if it is a sound criticism—applies to all the book. I am rather skeptical about such *ex post facto* rationalization of any nation's foreign policy; that of the Russian revolutionists was the more likely to be haphazard as they had no tradition to guide them. In the Baltic, in Turkey or Germany, “confused” and “uncertain”—even “hit or miss”—might be a better description of Soviet foreign policy than “opportunistic”.

ARTHUR BULLARD.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War.* By ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN, Professor of English in the University of Pennsylvania. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1923. Pp. xv, 486. \$4.00.)

THE scant attention given to native drama by historians of American literature has been a result of the well-nigh universal belief that

America, until recently, has produced no drama worth mention. As late as 1900 Professor Barrett Wendell in his *Literary History of America* dismissed this literary form with the dictum, "So far, the American theatre has produced no work which can claim serious consideration". Professor Quinn of the University of Pennsylvania has taken issue with these earlier critics:

The failure to treat the drama has sprung primarily from the rarity of the printed plays, which were usually issued in perishable form and whose very popularity proved to be their doom. Many of the stage successes, both of the past and the present, have been kept from publication by the protective instinct of the producing manager, who feared for his property rights and to whom the literary reputation of the playwright was of secondary importance.

With this thesis Professor Quinn has rewritten the history of the American drama to the time of the Civil War. A second volume is to come later. With rare patience and skill he has searched out great masses of material that earlier historians of the drama were forced to neglect and he has "recharted", to use his own term, our dramatic areas with new perspective. Whether he has added new valuable territory that must be considered by future historians of our literature is a question that will divide critics. Granting that many of the lost plays, say of R. M. Bird, Richard Penn Smith, and others, were of as high merit as Professor Quinn declares, is it still worth while to treat American drama in two volumes each the size of Wendell's history of our whole literature?

Most certainly it is, even if our early drama still must be branded as inferior when measured by the older European standards. Of late a new spirit has come into literary history: literature is the voice of life. Poetry, the novel, the short story, the drama—every form of art—all are the imperishable voices of the period that produces them. How shall we understand the nineteenth century without knowing what it enjoyed—without going to its theatres, and reading its magazines, and listening to its music? Dr. Quinn has recognized this fact and therein lies the chief value of his volume. "The drama", he explains in his preface, "has been treated throughout as a living thing." To reject this drama from the literary history of America because it falls below old academic standards is snobbishness. Our drama has been redolent of our new world; a history of it is a vital section of the history of America.

In his first three chapters the historian studies the early prejudice against the drama in America and traces its slow evolution under the burden of this handicap through the work of the pioneers Godfrey and Tyler and others to the year 1790, when under the leadership of William Dunlap, "a real personality, and artist to his finger-tips", the first period of the American drama may be said to have begun. The influence of Dunlap upon every phase of American art is forcibly presented. "To him America was the hope of the artist of the future where, unhampered by caste or the dead hand of prestige, the painter,

the writer, the musician could develop on the firm basis of his intrinsic worth." The two decades following 1810 were shaped largely by James M. Barker and John Howard Payne, the one insisting upon native themes and the other exploiting largely foreign material.

With 1830, the opening of America's Victorian era, came expansion in every variety of dramatic art. It was marked by the dominance of Edwin Forrest and darkest tragedy. The drama as well as fiction and poetry became more and more ruled by romance. It was the era of Robert M. Bird and *The Gladiator*, of dramatized Indians, of plays centring about American history. Then came the poetic drama of Boker and the Irish renaissance of Boucicault and the beginning of the *Rip Van Winkle* era. Every phase of the mid-century variety is most interestingly presented.

At first sight the volume seems unbalanced—at least one-third of it concerns Philadelphia dramatic history, but a careful reading convinces one that the balance is correct. Philadelphia during most of the period under consideration certainly took the lead in our affairs dramatic. One may pause, however, at the excessive praise given Boker. His motto "Get out of your age as far as you can" was undoubtedly his undoing. So far indeed did he get out of his age that to most modern critics he has been lost sight of completely. Unquestionably he deserves respectful treatment, but the thirty pages devoted to him here could well be reduced one-half.

The history is a thoroughly completed study and in this first volume it would seem to be definitive.

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

*The American Revolution: a Constitutional Interpretation.* By CHARLES HOWARD MCILWAIN, Professor of History and Government in Harvard University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. xiii, 198. \$2.25.)

By the Declaration of Independence the American colonies frankly cast off the only authority which they at that date professed to recognize as binding them to the British realm, namely, that of the king; the authority of Parliament to bind them had been challenged earlier. With which act of repudiation did the American Revolution begin—when, in other words, did American opposition to the measures of the British government cease being constitutional and become revolutionary? Or, to put the question in yet other terms, how is American rejection of Parliament's claims, which preceded avowed revolution, to be evaluated? Was it "absurd", "an afterthought", "a retreat" from one untenable legal position to another still more untenable, any stick to beat a dog with—all of which things it has been asserted to be, by American writers of recent date—or did it have really respectable support in precedent, so that an honest mind, one not overheated by contro-

versy, might have regarded it in 1774 as defining the essential issue between the mother country and the colonies?

These, in substance, are the questions—or question—which Professor McIlwain discusses in this immensely interesting volume, and his answer to them is indicated in his closing words:

It is not entirely easy to say with absolute assurance that the British Empire precisely was or was not *One Commonwealth* in 1774, but I do venture to believe that John Adams's view of this pivotal question of the American Revolution seems somewhat more consonant with all the precedents I have been able to find than the opposing theory supported by Lord Mansfield in the eighteenth century, and now apparently held by a majority of American historians.

The charge that the total denial, by the American advocates, of Parliament's right to legislate for the colonies was an afterthought is at least partially disposed of by the fact that the denial was implied in a statement by Franklin in the course of his famous examination before a committee of the House of Commons in 1766 (p. 147). The charge of absurdity was made by Mr. Sydney George Fisher in 1908 in these words: "To suppose that there was any part of the Empire to which the whole power of Parliament did not extend was as absurd to an Englishman in 1774 as it is today" (*ibid.*, p. 91). Yet in 1899 we find Sir Henry Jenkyns writing of the Channel Islands: "In these islands alone of all British possessions, does any doubt arise as to whether an Act of the imperial Parliament is of its own force binding law!" (*ibid.*, p. 90.)

The case of the Channel Islands, however, is touched upon by Professor McIlwain only incidentally—it is the Irish parallel which he stresses most. The notion that the dominions, which before that date were attributed to the king, were *British* possessions, subject to the "Supreme Authority" of Parliament, first appears in direct consequence of the temporary overthrow of the monarchy in 1649, and is expressed in the act of May 19 of that year (p. 21); but the same theory had been advanced as to Ireland some eight years earlier, and had been challenged by a declaration of the Irish House of Commons, asserting that the Irish were "a free People, and to be Governed only according [to] the Common Law of England, and Statutes made and established by *Parliament in this Kingdom of Ireland*". In short, while the Irish conceded their connection with the English king, they denied any connection with or subordination to the English Parliament—the very position taken by the Massachusetts Assembly in 1773 and by John Adams and Thomas Jefferson a year later. A succession of advocates, moreover, Darcy, Molyneux, Lucas, and others, bring the theory to the very threshold of the American controversy (p. 35); and meanwhile Parliament has contradicted it in the Declaratory Act of 1719, the precedent and model of the Act of 1766 (pp. 50–51). Nor is this the entire story, for in 1780 Ireland received back her Parliament, and three years later, by the so-called Renunciatory Act, the English Parliament declared "the right



claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by his Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom, in all cases whatever . . . to be . . . established and ascertained forever" (p. 53). This certainly sounds like the language, not of legislation, but of adjudication, and the question is accordingly provoked, how can the establishment of parliamentary supremacy be inferred for the colonies from its establishment in England if this did not imply the same thing for Ireland? One difference there is between the two cases—a difference in attitude on the part of the two peoples toward Parliament's pretensions from the outset.

Indeed, it is at this point that we uncover the Achilles's heel of Professor McIlwain's essay, if it has one. There can be little doubt that the colonies accepted William and Mary as sovereigns bound by their coronation oath to govern England "and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on and the laws and customs of the same", while even earlier the whole system of Navigation Acts of Charles II.'s reign seems to have evoked little if any protest on constitutional grounds. Nor do the judicial precedents which Professor McIlwain adduces help out the American argument materially. Calvin's case, asserting the proposition that allegiance to the king was personal, furnished the basis of the Massachusetts Assembly's argument in 1773, but it is hardly to the point, having been decided long before the transactions whereby the royal prerogative is assumed to have been brought under parliamentary control; and *Craw vs. Ramsay*, decided in 1670, seems distinctly to support the parliamentary theory, especially when it is considered in the light of some of Chief Justice Vaughan's dicta (see p. 103).

Thus the right of the colonies to avail themselves in 1774 of the Irish parallel remains at least doubtful; but, more than that, I question if they attempted to do so in any really official or authoritative way. Professor McIlwain's assumption that they did is based on Article IV. of the Declaration of the Continental Congress of 1774. But the denial there recorded of the authority of Parliament seems to rest, not on any theory as to the constitutional relation of the realm and the dominions, but on the theory of the fundamental right of representation recognized by the British constitution, and the impossibility, "from their local and other circumstances", of the colonists' being properly represented in the British Parliament (p. 115). Furthermore, this objection to the argument from the Irish parallel has to be met: Suppose the king to have been the sole link between the colonies and the British realm in 1774, what was to hinder him from taking whosoever advice he chose to, and so that of Parliament? In answering this question the colonists could only have invoked again the doctrine of "fundamental rights". Nor can it be doubted that it was this doctrine which subsequently contributed most to American constitutional arrangements, although Professor McIlwain justly calls attention to the great importance of the

Irish argument for the history of the elaboration of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

There are many incidental observations in this volume to which I should like to invite attention had I space. As always, Professor McIlwain writes from an inexhaustible fund of knowledge and with insight which constantly sheds light on the most interesting topics. No one has a finer flair for significant problems in his field, or greater art in conveying his own enthusiasm undiminished to his readers.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

*American Social History as recorded by British Travellers.* Compiled and edited by ALLAN NEVINS. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1923. Pp. viii, 577. \$4.00.)

It is to be hoped that this book will meet with such a sale as to encourage Mr. Nevins to bring out a similar volume containing the views of non-English travellers. For the present work is a valuable tool for the history teacher as well as an interesting and thought-stimulating book for the general reader.

Mr. Nevins thus explains the *raison d'être* of the book:

An Englishman is just enough of a stranger to see us with a fresh and curious eye, eager for every new impression; he is not enough of an alien, as most Continental Europeans are, to confuse non-essentials with essentials, or to mistake the meaning of what he sees. Simply as works of travel, books like those of Basil Hall, Dickens, Mackay, Anthony Trollope, and Muirhead, and Arnold Bennett, have a recognized literary position; but to us they are much more—they are among the most vital records of our national past (p. 463).

The plan of the book is admirable. As it is obviously impracticable to give really illustrative selections from every British traveller, the compiler has divided his work into four parts, covering the period from 1789 to 1922. Each part has an introductory chapter in which Mr. Nevins analyzes the attitude and purpose of the writers of the period. He also summarizes the views of most of them, with short quotations from many. Then follow chapters consisting, each, of selections from a more celebrated or important traveller, dealing with some leading phase of American life, such as Southern Life, American Manners, or New Settlers. Part I. covers the period from 1789 to 1825, in which the editor finds that "utilitarian inquiry" was the dominant motive of most British travellers writing about America. Seven of them are then quoted at length. John Bernard and William Cobbett are the best known. "Tory Condescension" is the key-note of the period from 1825 to 1845, in which the compiler thinks British opinion of the United States was largely dictated by such anti-democratic organs as the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood's*. Most of the seven quoted in this part are better known than those of the previous period, especially Mrs. Trollope, Miss Martineau, Marryat, and Dickens. Part III. (1840 to 1870) is

called "unbiased portraiture", and comprises selections from six such acute but temperate writers as Lyell, Russell, and Anthony Trollope. "Analysis" is the leading trait of the final portion, which closes, appropriately, with Nevins's "Goodbye, America!" (1922). Freeman, Spencer, Arnold, Bryce are the most celebrated of the eight contributors.

Mr. Nevins's introductory chapters are well written, fair, judicious, incisive, and useful. Occasionally such uncouth expressions as "vices upon our health" (p. 9) and "he all admitted" (p. 19) are observed. Each selection is prefaced with a very brief and helpful sketch of the writer, or, if he be as well known as Matthew Arnold, an account of his visit to America. The occasional foot-notes are decidedly useful. A very complete bibliography is given, but the index is only fair.

Only one serious error in proof-reading caught the reviewer's eye. The last two lines on page 513 have been dropped two spaces, thereby making nonsense of two sentences.

Though it is surprising to find that Wansey (1794) found General Gates "modest", it is interesting to note that as early as 1817 Fearon described Pittsburgh as "enveloped in smoke". Buckingham's statement, in 1840, that "the young of both sexes carry on matters just as they please", might have been taken from last Sunday's sermon.

While practically all of the works quoted in this book are known to the historical specialist, and most of them to any well-read person, by bringing together so much material in such usable form, Mr. Nevins has put a valuable critique of American social evolution within the reach of everyone.

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

*Catholic Builders of the Nation: a Symposium on the Catholic Contribution to the Civilization of the United States.* Prepared with collaboration . . . by C. E. McGUIRE, K.S.G., Ph.D., Managing Editor. In five volumes. (Boston: Continental Press, Inc. 1923. Pp. xv, 401; v, 428; v, 387; v, 398; v, 488. \$25.00.)

"PROPAGANDA" used to be a fairly respectable word, and it still may be if it is applied to the extensive work before us. Dr. McGuire, a trained scholar and a competent editor, has sought, in the face of the latest of the periodic waves of popular anti-Catholic prejudice, to stimulate his co-religionists and to acquaint his fellow-citizens of other or no religion with broad knowledge of what the Catholic Church and individual Catholics have done for and in the United States. To this end he has enlisted the services of 113 American Catholic writers, including an archbishop, four bishops, twenty-one secular priests, fifteen Jesuits, and sixty-five lay men and women, and has caused them to produce, not an encyclopaedia or a series of biographies, but a collection of separate essays treating of a wide variety of subjects from colonial history

to the Civil War and the Great War, from immigration to aeronautics, from charitable institutions to sport, from education to science, from missions to philosophy and literature. The work as a whole is obviously designed for that common yet elusive person known as "the general reader", rather than for the rare but substantial savant, and, like all co-operative enterprises, its parts are strikingly uneven in interest and merit. Some of the essays are hardly more than statistical tables or lists of names; a few are pronouncedly sentimental and even maudlin; several, as for instance the six essays on literature in volume IV., are tiresomely repetitious and provocative of mild surprise that so much smoke should proceed from so very little fire. On the other hand, a goodly number of the essays are written with distinction and restraint and contain valuable suggestions for serious students of the social sciences. Such, for example, are the Notes on Religious Liberty by the late Gailard Hunt, Church and State in the United States by Dr. Dudley G. Wooten, the Application of Catholic Principles to Contemporary Social Problems by Professor Henry Jones Ford, Catholic Social Action by Professor Parker Thomas Moon, Catholic Co-operation in Establishing the Seat of Government by Miss Margaret B. Downing; such, too, are the brief surveys in volume II. (usually with adequate bibliographical appendixes) of the local development of Catholicism in New England, New York, Philadelphia, the Illinois Territory, Kentucky, the Mississippi Valley, the South, the Far West, and Alaska; such, also, are the précis in volume III. on Catholic national strains among American immigrants, Belgian, Bohemian, French, German, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, South Slav, Spanish, and Syrian; such, finally, are the essays in volume V. on the various grades and aspects of Catholic education. And throughout the work are numerous materials which should be utilized in the preparation of any general *Kulturgeschichte* of America.

One lays aside these five volumes with two pretty well-founded convictions, first, that the Catholic Church is quite acclimatized to American soil, that it is, in fact, as American as it is Catholic, and secondly, that the acclimatization has been effected naturally and without sacrifice of the essence of Catholicism, or, expressed a bit differently, that America has been influenced by the Catholic Church as much as, or more than, the Catholic Church has been influenced by America. Dr. McGuire and his collaborators have, on the whole, performed a highly meritorious service in presenting to their countrymen some notion of the manifold ways in which the Catholic faith and the Catholic tradition have been related to our national past and *ergo* how they are bound to influence the history of the United States in generations to come. The service is even greater by reason of the fact that in its performance the controversial spirit has been notably eschewed. The work is admirably printed and conveniently indexed.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

*Social Politics in the United States.* By FRED E. HAYNES, Assistant Professor of Sociology in the State University of Iowa. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1924. Pp. xii, 414. \$3.50.)

THE title of this volume gives little indication of its contents. The author is concerned chiefly with reform and socialistic movements since the Civil War. The first chapter, entitled *Economic Conditions and American Democracy*, leads the optimistic reader to expect a study of the causes of American discontent shading from light pink to red, comparable, for example, to Professor Turner's famous *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* or Dr. Beard's *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*. Indeed, in the preface, the author states that "economic and social factors" have played a very important rôle in American political evolution. The reviewer was disappointed in finding that, after the first chapter, the volume becomes a chronicle rather than an adequate attempt to undertake the more difficult work of interpretation. For example, a chapter is devoted to Henry George and the Single Tax; but no clear picture is presented of the underlying economic forces which motivated that movement and enabled it to gather a large following in the eighties of the last century. This is fairly typical of the treatment of other radical movements in the remaining chapters. The book must be evaluated as a tabulation of the life-history of American radical programmes for social and political betterment rather than as a study in the fascinating, but treacherous, field of social mechanics.

In a brief compass is presented the history of the utopian socialist movement in the United States and the annals of the various socialist, syndicalist, labor, farmer, and progressive movements. Each of these social phenomena may have been adequately treated in separate volumes; but Professor Haynes has conveniently united them in one book upon unorthodox political and social ventures ranging from the Liberal Republican and various Progressive party episodes to the single-tax, syndicalist, new unionism, and farmers' movements. A brief survey is also given of the history of the early American labor movement. A chapter is devoted to utopian socialism; but other pre-Civil War adventures in reform are inadequately considered. Only brief mention is made of the workingmen's parties of the 'twenties and 'thirties, the free school movement between 1820 and 1850, and the land-reform movements between 1840 and 1860. No space is reserved for the successful attempt to end imprisonment for debt.

According to Professor Haynes, the usual evaluation of the importance of third parties in the United States "has ignored their real significance". A large percentage of third-party movements have come from the West as have "the great influences favoring democracy in this country". "For the most part these short-lived parties represent forward movements in the development of government of the people, for the

people, and by the people, rather than the outbursts of fanatical reformers based upon the imaginings of poorly balanced minds." The chief function, it is urged, of third parties and other radical movements is to force new programmes upon the old parties and conservative elements.

Our old parties are able to maintain their supremacy by building into their platforms planks which have been used by the third parties. Many third parties which have given promise of success have withered away and disappeared because the old parties have utilized shrewd political tactics. As a consequence, the third party is in nearly all cases prevented from becoming the first or second party. If it succeeds in getting a considerable following, the old parties steal its thunder and its voters; and it is presently left without an issue or adherents. The programme of many a third party lives; but the party is dead. Viewing current political events in their proper perspective, we may expect to see the present "third parties" disappear and part of their programme incorporated into the programmes of one or both old parties. Liberal, youth, or third-party movements are born to die.

A few errors, presumably typographical, may be noted. Eltweed Pomeroy appears as Eltmeed (p. 149); George R. Kirkpatrick, not George A., was the candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist ticket in 1916 (p. 201); and it is Owen R., not A., Lovejoy to whom reference is made on page 365. Each chapter is followed by a short list of references for further reading.

FRANK T. CARLTON.

*Braxton Bragg, General of the Confederacy.* By DON C. SEITZ.  
(Columbia, S. C.: State Company. 1924. Pp. x, 544. \$5.00.)

THROUGHOUT his Confederate career General Braxton Bragg was one of the leaders about whom the storms of accusation and fault-finding continuously raged. He was variously charged with being an imbecile, a sycophant, a pet, a favorite, and what not. In fact, he was accused of being one who held his position solely because of his friendship with and support from President Jefferson Davis, rather than because of any manifest ability.

To many there is no more inexplicable incident of Confederate history than this long-continued and apparently unfailing and unthinking friendship of Davis for Bragg. And yet a close study of the relations of the two men as evidenced in their private and official acts and correspondence fails to reveal the actuality of any such support of the one by the other. The work under consideration, while not considering the matter in this light, reveals its existence by the casual and repeated quoting from the correspondence of the two men.

It does not particularly appear that Davis's support of Bragg was a personal matter. They had served together at Buena Vista; Davis knew Bragg's record to be above the average; and when Secretary of War he



chose Bragg to be a field officer in one of the new cavalry regiments that had been authorized, an honor which Bragg declined because he had already made his arrangements to take up the occupation of sugar planter.

In the early months of the conflict Bragg seems to have been chosen solely because he appeared to possess the qualifications required for high command. He succeeded Beauregard, after Shiloh, for the same reason. Davis wrote as late as October 21, 1862, however, after Bragg's disastrous campaign into Kentucky: "My knowledge of General Bragg's purpose and capacity is too limited to enable me to speak of his army otherwise than hypothetically" . . . .

After his failure at Murfreesboro, in late December, 1862, and because of his differences with his subordinate commanders, Davis thought to relieve Bragg of his command and, in fact, sent General J. E. Johnston to do so, but this officer, after reviewing the situation on the ground, thought it best to leave matters as they were.

Bragg was not relieved until December, 1863, after the disastrous rout at Chattanooga, first, because of this action of Johnston's; second, because of his victory at Chickamauga; and, third, because, to Davis, there did not seem to be any one qualified to replace him. Johnston had advised against his removal and Beauregard was not acceptable to Davis; Hardee did not want the responsibility; Polk and Breckinridge were not competent. Apparently, Davis did not favor the transfer of superior officers from Virginia to the West. Pemberton and Hood, both unfortunate choices, were, however, promoted and so transferred.

After his relief and following a short rest to recuperate his health, which was never of the best, Bragg was ordered to Richmond as Davis's personal and confidential military adviser, probably because one of his ability seemed likely to be of more use in active service than vegetating in retirement. He was not disabled by wounds and he had organizing and administrative ability of a high order. But in Richmond Bragg's effectiveness seems to have been impaired by his tendency to find fault and by his propensity for getting into quarrels. Except for his part in bringing about the relief of Johnston by Hood, in Georgia in July, 1864, his rôle in the drama increasingly became a minor one. Always ready and willing to serve, at the end, however, Bragg seems to have lost his grip on the realities of the situation. His closing services in the Confederacy were pathetic in their futility.

Unfortunately, the author has not accepted the opportunity presented to make a proper evaluation of Bragg's Confederate career. Beginning with a brief account of his youth and services in the United States army, we soon come to the narrative of his services at Pensacola early in 1861. This period is discussed in some detail (pp. 23-45), after which the narrative continues the account in the conventional sequence to the final dénouement at Raleigh in April, 1865.

The story of Bragg's Confederate career is based entirely on the correspondence in the *Official Records*, together with a few unpublished



letters from his wife. There seems to be a great deal of extended and unnecessary quoting from the *Official Records*, some of Bragg's battle reports, for example, being given in full—seventy pages or more are devoted to such quoting. Over twenty pages contain detailed accounts of cavalry raids and there is more of like nature.

The accounts of the important engagements are involved, unsatisfactory, and uncritical. Too much attention is paid to spectacular details, and there is not enough critical discussion of Bragg's strategical conceptions and of his tactical handling of his troops. The battle narratives tell more of what the Federals did than of Bragg's leadership. For example, the account of the battle of Chickamauga is told "haphazardly" from Dana's telegraphic despatches to Washington (p. 342 ff.).

There is not enough local sequence to the narrative. The author jumps around, introducing long quotations from apparently irrelevant and unrelated correspondence. This seems to be due to a lack of proper organization and synthesis of the source-material. The book gives evidence of having been hurriedly written. By better organization and more careful use of the material available, the book could have been shortened by some one hundred pages or more, at the same time making Bragg's case stronger and the fact of his long retention in his command less blameworthy. There are no foot-note citations and no maps and there is no index and no bibliography.

In the course of the narrative the author has indicated why Bragg was retained in command for eighteen months; indirectly, he has shown that he and Johnston were friendly at least until the late spring of 1864; he has absolved Bragg from the responsibility, certainly the sole responsibility, for Longstreet's abortive and short-sighted attempt to take Knoxville and the consequent disastrous defeat at Chattanooga in November, 1863; and he has shown that Bragg, for one reason or another, never received the whole-hearted support and loyalty from his subordinates, especially Polk and Breckinridge, to which he was entitled. Finally, after indicating Bragg's unselfish and loyal devotion to the cause he served and to his superior officer, President Davis, the author has shown that at the end Bragg was put on the shelf and was, in fact, reduced to a state approaching "innocuous desuetude".

Yet the sort of critical study has not been produced that we have a right to expect, in view of the vast amount of original material that has become available in recent years. The author has not given us an account of Bragg's career that can be considered as authoritative or that will be of much use to the student. He has, nevertheless, pointed out a path, which some student of the period should follow. Even after sixty years we know comparatively little that is authoritative concerning the "inside" of the Confederate military leadership, especially in the West, of the War between the States.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

*Boss Platt and his New York Machine: a Study of the Political Leadership of Thomas C. Platt, Theodore Roosevelt, and Others.*  
By HAROLD F. GOSNELL, Instructor in Political Science in the University of Chicago. With an Introduction by CHARLES E. MERRIAM, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1924. Pp. xxiv, 370. \$3.00.)

THE most striking passages in Dr. Gosnell's book present themselves as a kind of political variation upon the theme of Fraser's *Golden Bough*. Again the elderly hierophant guards the sacred grove wherein he practises arts and mysteries and awes the devout worshippers. Again he finally succumbs before the attack of younger rivals, led by a husky figure with gleaming teeth and a whirling Big Stick.

It is not implied that Dr. Gosnell magnifies anywhere the dramatic possibilities of his subject. He tells his tale straightforwardly and pragmatically, with a somewhat meticulous attention to details in the account of Senator Platt's Republican party organization. Indeed chapters V. and VII.-X. of this volume are an admirable auxiliary for any New York State text-book in civics.

The political duet—or was it a fugue movement?—which Platt and Roosevelt sang cannot be properly described and appraised without a quick appreciation of its humorous elements. The author fortunately possesses that gift. He draws a fine picture of the "Amen Corner" and Platt's famous Sunday School class. Nevertheless the reader will close the book with an impression of a chronicle of facts rather than of a drama in which living men are wrestling for some of the greatest prizes that human ambition covets.

Professor Charles E. Merriam's introduction to this volume traces the ground plan of an elaborate treatise on leadership in politics. The book itself is not intended to be an essay in political philosophy, but this work with others of a similar nature will, as Professor Merriam says, provide the material for more scientific studies of the principles of leadership in our democracy than we have as yet produced.

When the time comes to prepare a revised edition of Dr. Gosnell's book, it will be well to note the following errors of a proof-reader. In the first line of page 28, "of" is omitted; on page 32, 1844 should be 1884; on page 38, ninth line, 1899 should be 1889; on page 50, twelfth line, "regained" is not the word intended; on page 58, the last line in the foot-notes is a homeless wanderer; on page 97, fifteenth line, "Blank" should be "Black"; the second word on page 214 should be "to". On page 288, line 10, "stockholders", on page 294, fifth line from the bottom, "disapproval", on page 323, sixth line from the bottom, "vindictive", and on pages 94 and 315, the word "dissensions", are all misspelled.

A protest may be recorded against the repetition in this book of the journalistic device of placing the familiar name of a political leader in quotation marks (p. 155), as though the ownership of a nickname were open to question or in some way discreditable.

Also a narrow-minded "localism" (p. 181) is surely a fault in all political parties in every state.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

*Theodore Roosevelt.* By Lord CHARNWOOD. (Boston: *Atlantic Monthly Press*. 1923. Pp. xx, 232. \$2.50.)

"CANDIDLY my reason for writing [the book] is, that, having been invited to do so, I am disabled from refusing by a boyish hero-worship which I conceived very long ago for Theodore Roosevelt—then and ever since unknown to me." Thus Lord Charnwood avows his purpose on the first page of this work which, he hopes, "may contribute to frank and sympathetic discussion between two great peoples". Near the close he reiterates this sentiment: "I began this book by avowing a hero-worship of long standing." Other hero-worshippers here, and probably in England, will have no reason to criticize the result, for all but the most purblind of Roosevelt's admirers will scarcely fail to find it an almost untempered eulogy, based, to a very large degree, on Bishop's *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time*. Lord Charnwood states that he made but one demand when he undertook the task; namely, that he "should be amply briefed with the worst that could be said of Roosevelt", and he avows that that demand was "fulfilled faithfully". He has not laid more stress upon the faults which were discovered to him "because . . . to dwell more on these light and often laughable matters would be to draw things in a false perspective". If the reader bears in mind this attitude of the author he will find the book a sufficiently adequate sketch of one of the most spectacular figures in American history. Surely it is not calculated to hurt the sensibilities of the friends of most of those characters who are, in one way or another, drawn into the account.

One exception must be made to the general rule; for Lord Charnwood Mr. Wilson is, to say the least, not an admirable figure: "In my eyes his singular and powerful figure appears an evil figure, which it may be right to pity but cannot be right to admire." A contrast between the President and the Ex-President respecting their attitudes toward the war is drawn in such a manner as to present the latter the far more admirable person. Lord Charnwood accepts Bishop's explanation of the, even to him, maladroitness of editorial in the *Outlook* exculpating Germany's invasion of Belgium, as satisfactory and entirely consistent with Roosevelt's later stand. It must be said, however, that he has utterly failed to grasp the situation in the United States during 1914 and 1915, the situation which, plus President Wilson's abhorrence of being drawn into the war, made it evident that nothing like a united people would have backed participation at the time.

On the other hand the chapter on Nineteenth-century America is an able exposition in small compass of the chaotic conditions of a transitional period, a period which Roosevelt was able to interpret and, to a considerable extent, clarify in the minds of his fellow-citizens. This chapter serves exceedingly well to put before another people the setting which must be expounded in order to make understandable Roosevelt's foreign and domestic course and to explain what it was that made him so beloved of the rank and file. If the same careful interpretation had been allowed to operate when dealing with personalities one would be more inclined to rank this work with Lord Charnwood's study of Lincoln.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE.

### MINOR NOTICES

*The New Larned History for Ready Reference, Reading, and Research: the Actual Words of the World's Best Historians, Biographers, and Specialists.* . . . Based on the work of the late J. N. Larned, now completely revised, enlarged, and brought up to date. In twelve volumes. Volume VII., *Lyly to Nori*; volume VIII., *Norm to Rome, B. C. 53*; volume IX., *Rome, B. C. 52-Swea*. (Springfield, Mass., C. A. Nichols Publishing Company, 1923-1924, pp. viii, 5351-6270; viii, 6271-7190; viii, 7191-8094.) These three latest volumes are superior to those preceding, not only in illustrations, which continue to be well chosen and interesting—Kosciuszko's peasant army is a conspicuous example—and in the maps which, particularly in the ninth volume, appear better marked and more definite, revealing some innovations especially in colors that are quite satisfactory and useful, but also in the selection of authorities. The average here is distinctly better, though special commendation might be made of the Russian, Serbian, Rumanian, Macedonian, and Montenegrin assignments. Yet one quite readily criticizes the very small space allotted to Mohammed and Mohammedanism and the quality of references, which is not all that might be desired.

One must again admire the variety of this set, for in these three volumes painting, sculpture, and music can be found as well as science. Philology, too, has its place as well as Scandinavian, Semitic, and Russian literature. Prison reform, public health, presidents, and proportional representation reflect political science; slavery and serfdom, social insurance and socialism fill up the sociological well. Mythology is a welcome topic. Economic questions are seen in railroads, money and banking, etc. Even medical science has a place. The papacy, priesthood, and religion show adequate space for religious history. Even the Masonic orders and the Red Cross are included, as well as the Salvation Army.

In general, the constitutions and treaties (including Portsmouth and St. Germain) that one would look for are to be found, although it is somewhat surprising that both the Rumanian and Spanish constitutions are omitted. In other characteristics the three volumes closely follow the six preceding.

More definite criticisms would pick out here and there some faults for correction. Must the reader depend (p. 6884) on a map of Germany in order to locate Prague? The river on which that capital is situated now goes by the name of "Vltava" instead of *Moldau*; Stare Mesto (or Old Town) would describe what is here called *Altstadt* more exactly in the eyes of the Praguers to-day, who certainly do not recognize any German names in their city unless obliged to. The world has moved since Baedeker included Bohemia in his *Austria-Hungary*.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

*Critical Epochs in History: Studies in Statesmanship.* By D. C. Somervell. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company [1923], pp. xii, 427, \$5.00.) This book is intended for collateral reading in schools and colleges, and for the leisure hours of intelligent men and women who are neither professional students nor teachers of history. Though he has not the spicy style of Lytton Strachey, Philip Guedalla, and the "Gentleman with a Duster", Mr. Somervell has gained a recognized place among the publicists of England. This American edition of his latest work seems to indicate the publisher's belief in a continued demand in this country for popular historical literature. It is to be hoped that this expectation will not be disappointed, for a widespread interest in historical reading must be looked upon as a valuable ally of creative historical scholarship.

Mr. Somervell's thesis is that European history has been determined largely by certain great institutions, chiefly political, and that these have been molded at critical times, for good or evil, by the policies adopted by a comparatively small number of statesmen. Perhaps it might be more narrowly defined as a study of the way in which the problems of expanding imperialism have been met by the great statesmen of Europe and the United States. The book is composed of nine essays, each dealing in a broad, general way with the rise of a movement or an institution and with the career of the statesman supposed to have dominated its critical stage, and closing with a brief appraisal of the outcome. An attempt is made to give a sense of historical continuity by brief comments on intervening generations.

The nine subjects chosen for treatment are: Pericles and the Athenian empire, Julius Caesar and the transition from Roman republic to Roman Empire, Innocent III. and the imperial medieval papacy, Richelieu and the evolution of Bourbon despotism, George Washington and Alexander Hamilton and the birth of the American nation, Napoleon and his empire, Bismarck and the German Empire, Gladstone and the problems of British democratic imperialism. The brevity of the chapters—they average about forty-five pages—prevents any effort to throw new light on their subjects, or even to give a vivid portrayal of personality. "The biography . . . resolves itself into the history of the solution, or attempted solution, of a single, even though a complex, politi-

cal problem" (p. 343). The last two chapters are the most interesting, partly because they are the longest and least governed by this formula, partly because the author has more material at his disposal than in the earlier chapters.

Though based almost entirely upon secondary sources, the essays exhibit sound judgment and suggestive comment. They ought to serve admirably the purpose for which they are intended.

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN.

*Representative Government.* By Henry J. Ford, Emeritus Professor of Politics in Princeton University. [American Political Science Series, Edward S. Corwin, General Editor.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1924, pp. vii, 318, \$3.50.) "This work is based upon a great mass of material, collected in the course of an investigation of the history and characteristics of representative government which I carried on for several years in the Politics Seminary of Princeton University, with the assistance of graduate students working under my direction." It is an effective indictment of the "multiple agency system" of the United States and the tap-root evil out of which that system has grown, the separation between the executive and legislative departments, and sets forth the author's well-known admiration of the Swiss system. There are two parts, the first, of ten chapters, on "Origins", and the second, of eleven longer chapters, on "Characteristics". The latter is largely a commentary, written in the light of the last sixty years, on five fundamental propositions drawn from John Stuart Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government*, together with frequent citations from *The Federalist* and lessons drawn from the methods of private business.

The historical part is largely a history of the literature. It is interesting that Professor Ford thinks he should retell (in the first eight chapters) the old tale of the rise and fall of the Mark theory. In the ninth chapter, on the genesis of representative government, he lays down three propositions, the first two of which seem to the reviewer sound and very welcome, but not the third:

1. Representative government originated as a bud put forth by monarchy.
2. It developed first in England, not because the people were more free there but because monarchy was stronger there than elsewhere.
3. In making its start it got its mode and form from the Church.

In the third point he follows Barker's monograph, *The Dominican Order and Convocation*. Barker's striking thesis has not carried conviction. It is essentially gratuitous as far as Parliament is concerned, and omits the many tentatives in representation, election, and concentration before there were Dominicans in England, and from which the later practices were a gradual and natural outgrowth. Again Simon de Montfort figures prominently in parliamentary beginnings: he comes late enough to admit of his adoption of Dominican forms.

It is a pity that the author did not take space to argue further the first two points. They are the themes upon which much more must be written before historians and political scientists know what they should of democracy's rise and nature. It is a profound truth that "where liberal institutions have been successful they seem to have been dependent upon some past discipline maintained by coercive authority". May the author's belief prove true that representative government, with an understanding and administration that he now sees dawning in the world, will break the old vicious circle of despotism to liberalism and back to despotism.

A. B. WHITE.

*Inceputurile Vietzii Romane la Gurile Dunării* [*Beginnings of Roman Life at the Mouths of the Danube*]. By Vasile Pârvan. (Bucharest, Cultura Națională, 1923, pp. 247, 107 cuts, 80 lei.) This beautifully printed and illustrated book is one of a large series, *Cultura Noastră*, due primarily to the munificence of the Bucharest banker Aristide Blank, and bearing eloquent witness to the scientific and literary activity of the new Rumania. In this volume, Professor Pârvan, head of the great Archaeological Museum in Bucharest and of the Rumanian Archaeological School in Rome, tabulates and discusses the evidences of Greek and especially Roman civilization in the lower Danube region. His main thesis is that Dacia was not colonized suddenly by the Romans in Trajan's day, but that Romanization had been going on for generations. He shows from first-century inscriptions that Roman farmers and traders were already numerous in Moesia and the Dobrudja; in 46 A.D., Claudius made the right bank of the Danube Roman; and in 86, Domitian creates a Roman province out of Lower Moesia (Bulgaria). Pârvan excavated Histria, down on the Dobrudja coast, and found there Roman inscriptions dating 46-49 A.D.; he reminds us that Roman legionaries settled at Tomi (Constantza) in Vespasian's day. He thinks the evidence shows that independent Dacia, north of the Danube, was considerably Romanized before Trajan's conquest. Furthermore, he points out that there is no archaeological indication of any large Roman emigration south of the Danube in 270 A.D., but every probability that most of the Roman population stayed on throughout the barbarian invasions. Even Bessarabia was Romanized, and government roads united Transylvania, with its numerous Roman towns, mines, etc., with the Bukovina and Moldavia. Pârvan promises us another book on the details of Roman civilization in ancient Dacia; but this already presents a clear picture of a wealthy and prosperous country, thoroughly Romanized; a Dobrudja and Transylvania full of Roman cities; a Wallachia and Moldavia composed of Dacian towns largely Romanized, where the worship of Silvanus and the Floralia has replaced the old Thracian cults. The book is full of valuable incidental observations, and forms an admirable introduction to the early history



of this region. There are full indexes. We hope that Pârvan will publish a French summary of this volume and the one which is to follow it.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

*The Early Irish Monastic Schools: a Study of Ireland's Contribution to Early Medieval Culture.* By Hugh Graham, M.A., Professor of Education, College of St. Teresa, Winona, Minn. (Dublin, Talbot Press, 1923, pp. xvi, 206.) Mr. Graham's purpose is "to give within reasonable limits a critical and fairly complete account of the Irish monastic schools which flourished prior to 900 A.D." The chief merits of the book are that it brings under one cover a reasonably good account of the whole subject, such as otherwise it would be hard to find in any one place, and that much care and thought have been expended in the organization of the book, so that all aspects of the subject may be treated. The student will therefore obtain from the book much useful light on Irish monasticism in all its aspects, on the relation of the Irish monastic schools to the general educational situation in the period, on the intellectual life and course of studies in the Irish monasteries, and on the scope and influence of Irish scholarship. On the other hand, Mr. Graham's scholarship is not adequate to the production of a really authoritative book upon the subject. His linguistic knowledge is plainly imperfect. Hardly a line of quotations from the French or titles from the German is free from errors. There is also, as is usual in Irish writings on the subject, some exaggeration of the quality and influence of Irish learning in the period treated. Yet the book is interesting, and its bibliographical indications are so extensive as to help the reader greatly toward deeper study.

*The Times of Saint Dunstan.* The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in the Michaelmas Term, 1922, by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., F.B.A., Dean of Wells. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1923, pp. 188, 12 s. 6 d.) For nearly forty years the Very Reverend J. Armitage Robinson has been contributing important studies to the history of the Church in ancient and medieval times. During the last decade his interest seems to have been centred about a group of problems in the history of southwestern England, more specifically the county of Somerset. His most recent contribution, *The Times of Saint Dunstan*, though not exclusively concerned with this region, properly belongs to the Somerset group, inasmuch as it deals primarily with the religious movement in the Old English kingdom during the tenth century, a movement which had its origin and found its earliest impulse in the abbey of Glastonbury.

The work is a series of seven lectures dealing with the four great leaders in this movement, King Athelstan, St. Dunstan, St. Ethelwold, and St. Oswald. In his two lectures devoted to Athelstan, Dean Robinson limits his discussion to the king's interest in the Church, as shown by a notable series of gifts, chiefly in the form of valuable manuscripts

and highly valued relics, to various churches and monastic foundations. The author places great emphasis on St. Dunstan's achievements as a protagonist of monastic reform, and, while granting the presence of Continental influence in the Anglo-Saxon movement, he insists that it was essentially of native English origin. In his lecture on St. Ethelwold, Dean Robinson argues (and quite convincingly) that the strenuous bishop of Winchester had a much larger share in the movement than earlier historians have been willing to allow. St. Ethelwold was, he believes, the chief author of the new English monastic rule, the *Regularis Concordia*, which forms the subject of the last lecture in the series.

In the course of his investigations Dean Robinson has found it necessary to examine a few of the more difficult problems in the chronology of the tenth century, for some of which he seems to have found satisfactory solutions. Athelstan's accession he assigns to 924. The birth of St. Dunstan, which Stubbs placed in 925, he dates about 909. He also discusses the careers of various historical characters of lesser importance and is able to give some of them a more definite place in the history of their time.

L. M. L.

*English Penitential Discipline and Anglo-Saxon Law in their Joint Influence.* By Thomas Pollock Oakley, Professor of History in Hardin College. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CVII., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1923, pp. 226, \$2.50.) Having begun with the aim of making a study of the whole field of the Penitentials, Dr. Oakley has been led by the vast and diverse material offered to narrow the scope of his treatise to "those penitential practices and codes which originated or were used in England or among the Welsh and Irish in the pre-Norman period". Within the Anglo-Saxon field he speaks with the authority of full research. The main achievement of the book is to exhibit the close relation between ecclesiastical and civil penalties, and the modification of the latter by the former in Anglo-Saxon society. It is argued that the penitential codes constituted a salutary reinforcement of the civilizing influence of secular law. The abuses connected with composition and commutation in the penitentials are minimized: "The commutation system was neither so universal nor so mild as often represented." The Christian inherited from the pagan priest a recognized power in discipline and legislation. This co-ordination of secular and ecclesiastical control appears in civil sanctions of penance, and in the addition of ecclesiastical to civil punishments for a variety of crimes. The moralizing value of the penitentials is illustrated from their detailed penalties for sexual offenses, which were both less rigorously and less discriminately dealt with in secular law. The correction they provided for the widespread evil of perjury, which the custom of compurgation had tended to encourage, is carefully and interestingly set forth.

The book is packed with information quite unfamiliar in most classrooms in medieval history. Dr. Oakley's research is better than his argument, and some of his opinions are not advocated with sufficient insistence to convert the unbelieving. But he has brought to light important facts regarding the authorship of a number of penitential documents; he has helped to illumine a neglected field, and has fairly established his main thesis.

JOHN T. McNEILL.

*The Inquisition: a Political and Military Study of its Establishment.* By Hoffman Nickerson. With a Preface by Hilaire Belloc. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1923, pp. xvii, 258, \$4.00.) This is an extraordinary book, but it has little merit. Seldom has a serious work been published which was so lacking in unity and directness. It begins with a censorious introduction by Hilaire Belloc, which praises the author, condemns almost all history which has been written since the end of the eighteenth century, ascribes an army of more than fifty thousand men to William the Conqueror in the battle of Hastings, and pictures the World War as a gigantic siege. Then Mr. Nickerson takes up the pen and treats of the Middle Ages at large, of the civilization of the south of France, of the heresies, of the Mendicant Orders, and of the Albigensian Crusade. Much space is given to military events, and the battle of Muret (1213) is minutely studied with maps and plans. Finally, in the next to the last chapter, the author reaches his subject—only to announce that this is “not so much the Inquisition itself as the forces which established it”. There is, accordingly, very little about the Inquisition, and of this nothing is new. The volume closes with an extensive “Epilogue on Prohibition”, which reveals the author's purpose in writing the book. Some years ago as a member of the New York State Legislature he “endured Prohibition lobbyists and cast about for something which might serve as a historical precedent in the way of religio-political oppression on so vast a scale”. He soon discovered “that traditional Christianity had more to say for the Inquisitors than for the Prohibitionists, so that the parallel with Prohibition has been thrust into an epilogue”. The author's debt to Henry C. Lea is apparent and frankly acknowledged; but his judgment upon the great historian of the Inquisition is not such as to inspire confidence. He regards him as one “whose vast learning and exactitude in matters of fact would have made him a great historian, had he possessed a grain of imagination or the least spark of sympathy with the Middle Ages”.

C. W. DAVID.

*La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamelouks d'après les Auteurs Arabes. Description Géographique, Économique, et Administrative, précédée d'une Introduction sur l'Organisation Gouvernementale.* Par Gaudetroy-Demombynes, Professeur à l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. [Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au

Liban, Service des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, tome III.] (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1923, pp. cxix, 288, 50 fr.) The author has attempted to do for Syria under the Mamlûks what Guy Le Strange did for the earlier period in *Palestine under the Moslems* and *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. He has translated from Qalqachandi's Çoubh el 'Acha the chapters which describe the geography of Syria and its administrative organization. This work, which was finished in 1412, was intended to be a *vade mecum* for the sultan's secretaries. It has been published in fourteen volumes (Cairo, 1913-1919).

As the chapters on the administrative organization come in the fourth volume and presuppose much information contained in the preceding portions, the translator felt it necessary to supply an introduction of a hundred pages on the political and administrative organization of the Mamlûk state. In addition he has supplied many notes which supplement or illustrate the information; some of these notes are from other parts of the Çoubh; some are drawn from other Arab authors or from works on Syria. A bibliography of three pages gives only the principal works to which reference is made by abbreviated title.

The volume is not so interesting as Le Strange's books; it could not be expected to be. The geographical part, as the translator says, contains little that is new. Qalqachandi borrowed largely from his predecessors, scrupulously giving credit. The part on the administration is much more valuable. In the introduction is an interesting description of the feudal character of the Mamlûk state and how it differed from Western feudalism. It is especially interesting to note what a prominent place the natives of Syria, Jews and Christians as well as Moslems, held in the administration of the state. More intelligent than their masters, they exercised much control, through their positions in the financial bureaus, over the army, over the economic, and even over the religious life of the people. Through the influence of their co-religionists in the bureaus Christians and Jews were protected from the scorn of the Moslems and to some extent freed from wearing obnoxious costumes.

In the appendix are given passages from Qalqachandi on the postal service, carrier pigeons, and signal fires; also a passage on the burned part along the frontier, systematically set on fire to prevent the incursions of the Tartars. The means used was the ancient one of foxes and dogs with firebrands tied on their tails.

D. C. M.

*Camden Miscellany*. Volume XIII. [Camden Third Series, vol. XXXIV.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1924, pp. xiv, 58; viii, 26; xii, 36; xxvi, 39; vi, 32.) Five parts compose this miscellany. In the first, Professor R. K. Richardson, of Beloit College, presents the Latin text, well edited, under the title "*Gesta Dunelmensia*", of a manuscript written at Durham, probably in 1302 or 1303, concerning the struggle be-

tween Bishop Anthony Bek and Richard Hoton, prior of the Benedictine monastery there. (Oeniponte, p. xiii, is not Osnabrück but Innsbrück.) Secondly, Mr. C. L. Kingsford adds a few more recently discovered documents to the Stonor Papers which he published in two volumes in the Camden Series in 1919. Thirdly, Mr. H. E. Malden, secretary of the Royal Historical Society, presents a body of papers which have come down from Richard Broughton, legal adviser and man of business to Walter and Robert Devereux, earls of Essex, *temp.* Eliz.—thirty or more documents relating to those earls and Irish affairs in their time. Fourthly, Mr. Vincent T. Harlow edits, from Sloane MSS. 793 or 894, "A Briefe Journall or a Succinct and True Relation of the most Remarkable Passages observed in that Voyage undertaken by Captaine William Jackson to the Western Indies or Continent of America, anno Domini 1642", a narrative, extending to 1645, of spectacular exploits which made Jackson the terror of the Spanish main, and paved the way for Cromwell's expedition of 1655 under Penn and Venables for the conquest of Jamaica. Finally, Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville illustrates the English conquest of Jamaica by a well-annotated translation of a Spanish account of the matter preserved in the Archives of the Indies, written by Captain Julian de Castilla, an eye-witness, whose minute narrative, extending over more than a year, enables us for the first time to see the whole transaction from the point of view of the vanquished.

*English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon, 1604-1668.* By James A. Williamson. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1923, pp. 191, 12 s. 6 d.) This is indeed a neglected theme. The French and the Dutch have never lost their foothold in Guiana, and the historians of their colonies have therefore continued to be interested in these seventeenth-century beginnings; but their English rivals, whose present possessions there date only from the end of the eighteenth century, have had more interest for the claims they then inherited from the Dutch than for the futile English ventures of the age of discovery. The boundary controversies of our day, which have so brought into the light the doings on this coast of Spaniard and Portuguese, Dutch trader and French colonizer, have thrown but here and there a ray upon the not less zealous English undertaking. The author of this book, already known by volumes on the history of discovery or of expansion, has now industriously gleaned from the state papers of England, with some glance at those of Spain, and from the scanty narratives of the adventurers, what can be learned as to these obscure and half-forbidden enterprises. Alas, he is not content to give us his evidence unvarnished; he has woven together what is solidly based on documents with what does not rise above gossip and rumor. Even the egregious John Scott, whom he does not hesitate to correct as to those events in Surinam which he was likely to know best, is followed as "a real authority" for the remoter matters as to which he is sole wit-

ness. Mr. Williamson's debt is great to the earlier studies of Edmundson on the settlers of these coasts. He would have profited by knowing also those of Oppenheim on the Jews in western Guiana.

GEORGE L. BURR.

*Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1610-1715).* Par Émile Bourgeois, Professeur à l'Université de Paris, et Louis André, Maître de Conférences à l'Université de Lille. Tome IV. *Journaux et Pamphlets*. (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1924, pp. vi, 388, 6; paper, 15 fr., cloth, 25 fr.) After the plan followed in the preceding volumes of this series MM. Bourgeois and André describe, in respect to their historical value, some forty journals of the period, in thirty pages of the volume. The rest of it is given to descriptions and statements of a similar character respecting more than 1200 pamphlets of the century, classified first by the period to which they relate, and, under these divisions, by the episodes they treat. An excellent introduction discusses the general characteristics of seventeenth-century French newspapers and pamphlets and their use as historical material.

*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.* Edited by J. R. Tanner, Litt.D. Volume IV. *Admiralty Journal*. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. LVII.] (London, the Society, 1923, pp. cxxviii, 725, 30 s. to non-members, to be obtained from William Clowes and Sons, 94 Jermyn Street, London, S.W. 1.) The catalogue of the Pepysian manuscripts which has now reached its fourth volume under the able editing of Mr. Tanner increases in interest if not in importance with each succeeding part. And it is probable that this present volume will be found by most persons who have occasion to consult it even more interesting than its predecessors. For it contains the Admiralty Journal from January 1, 1673/4 to April 21, 1679, all, or nearly all, from the pen of one Samuel Pepys, its secretary, better known to most people for a very different kind of literary work. Especially to those literary essayists who have written of the diarist only from their knowledge of that small part of Pepys's work, it may be commended; for even here, in Mr. Tanner's words explaining why the Journals have been printed in full and not abstracted, "the close texture of Pepys' style does not lend itself to condensation, which in this case would only destroy the flavour of the original without effecting a compensating economy of space". So even here his literary gift is not absent.

But if this volume will be interesting to those who know the diarist, it is still more interesting to the historian. It reflects, as no other existing record does, hardly even the minutes of the Council, the everyday work of administration. It reveals Charles II. as an industrious and intelligent member of that small group which governed England. It shows him an active member of other committees, like that of foreign affairs, and puts him in a very different light from that of the memoirs



of the time. Prince Rupert and the Duke of York here fill the rôles they do in history, as to their interest in naval affairs, with others whom we do not generally associate with that service. It was a goodly company, this Navy Board; and the range of its discussions may be judged from one entry that a gallon of brandy was provided for each passenger, soldier, or sailor going to Virginia, and another regarding the apprenticing of the Blue Coat boys. But, after all, the great figure is that of Mr. Secretary Pepys, of whose character and abilities these Journals are a monument: and its interest is that of a great contribution to the history of the Restoration as well as to that of the navy.

*Private Papers of George, second Earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1794-1801.* Edited by Rear-Admiral H. W. Richmond. Volume III. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. LVIII.] (London, the Society, 1924, pp. xvi, 401, 20 s.) The third volume of the papers of the second Earl Spencer follows the first two after an interval of ten years made necessary by the war. Meanwhile other more pressing duties and, later, death claimed Sir Julian Corbett, the editor of the earlier volumes. Rear-Admiral Richmond, who has succeeded to the editorial task, has elected to follow the example of his distinguished predecessor and to arrange the material in a topical rather than in a chronological order. With the exception of a few letters relating to operations in the West Indies in 1796-1797, the papers in this volume are all from the period between the beginning of 1798 and the early weeks of 1801. They are arranged in six groups under the several topics: General Correspondence, Admiral Bruix's Cruise, the Proposal to Attack Brest, the Helder Expedition, Operations in the West Indies, the Channel Squadron. This topical arrangement is somewhat artificial, since many of the letters refer to more than one topic. Most of the papers in this volume are letters to Spencer from prominent naval officers of the time, like St. Vincent, Nelson, Hyde Parker, and others, and from his colleagues in the Cabinet, with a few of Spencer's letters in reply. A considerable number of the letters deal with personal grievances of individual officers, for example, Sir William Parker and Sir Alan Gardner.

Considering the auspices under which they are published, it is perhaps natural that both the papers selected for publication and their arrangement should suit better the needs of students of naval strategy than of general historians. The editor contributed nearly fifty pages of introduction, but it is in seven parts, one a brief general introduction and the others introductory notes to the several topics, which makes it less indicative of the character of the contents of the volume than it might have been if organized in a combined narrative. Similarly, the attempt to arrange the letters by topics increases the difficulty of students, even of naval history, who may wish to consult them. Despite the plan of limiting the material to that dealing with naval subjects, in this volume as in the two preceding are letters that throw light on other than



purely naval matters, particularly on the relations among the members of Pitt's first war ministry and on the responsibility of certain of its individual members for some of the measures adopted.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

*Ketteler: ein Deutsches Bischofsleben des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Von Fritz Vigener. (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1924, pp. xv, 751, 18 M.) Fritz Vigener's massive volume has an interesting subject. It deals with the career of the dominating personality of the Bishop of Mainz who more than any other awakened Catholic sympathy with the labor movement and inspired the Centre Party with a policy which was an indispensable factor in the achievement of the great German social legislation. Von Ketteler also played a prominent rôle in the party of opposition to the decree of papal infallibility and the Vatican Council and was a sagacious and eminent participant in the conflicts of the *Kulturkampf*. Vigener's work is an admirable exhibition of detailed and careful scholarship. Written with adequate sympathy but with critical detachment and vigorous characterizations, it will supplant the extensive work of Father Otto Pfülf (1899), which obscured the bishop's personality by the incense of conventional ecclesiastical adulation. It rests moreover on new, minute research in the columns of the *Mainzer Journal* from 1848 to 1877, the archives of Berlin and Darmstadt, the reports of Prussian and Austrian ambassadors in Darmstadt, and much literary publication of which a bibliography is furnished. The work is serviceable also by furnishing abstracts of von Ketteler's own publications.

Vigener stresses the bishop's share in the development of political and social Catholicism as the chief historical significance of his life, but is disposed to think that a growing legend now overstates his positive contributions to a concrete programme of social reform. Vigener emphasizes also what we may roughly call Ketteler's Cyprianic conception of the episcopate in opposition to the curialist doctrine of the pope as universal bishop and gives an interesting account of Ketteler's resistance from that point of view to the dogma of papal infallibility and of his attempt after the Vatican Council to save his idea by his interpretation of *ex cathedra*.

The reader is made acquainted with a large variety of personages who figure in the environment of the bishop and they are sharply characterized, but over them all looms this Westphalian nobleman of impetuous and imperious temperament, often in vehement conflict, losing indeed the Junker attitude by his devotion to the practical Christianity of social reform and left impetuously militant only against the world which collided with his authoritative churchmanship.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*War Finances in the Netherlands up to 1918.* By M. J. Van der Flier, LL.D. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Economic and

Social History of the World War, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1923, pp. xv, 150, \$1.50.) Dr. Van der Flier has succeeded in writing a very clear and very readable survey of the financial situation in Holland during the war. His task was outlined for him by the Committee of Research as having to deal with such topics as "the result of the direct outlay which the war is causing, the effect of the reduction of general wealth on the condition of each class of the people, on the various movements for improving the status of labourers, on the earning powers of labourers themselves". A chapter of general information concerning the Netherlands is a fitting introduction to the subject. It contains a great deal that is new to the foreigner, whose knowledge of Holland is chiefly based on superficial impressions of travel and on the traditional lore of school-books describing the Dutch as a seafaring and agricultural race. As a matter of fact, a larger percentage of persons in Holland are at present employed in industries (13.35) than in agriculture (10.55) and commerce and transportation (6.98). These industries depend, to a large extent, upon their commerce, being either originated by it or serving it. Hence the war, which interfered with Dutch commerce and shipping, played havoc also with Dutch industry. Agriculture suffered less and recovered sooner from the initial depression. The year 1915 brought a gradual recovery of commerce and industries due to an increase of exports and intensified buying for fear of increasing scarcity. Big profits were made, but only by a very small part of the population. The bulk of the people suffered severely from the mounting of all prices without an adequate rise of wages, from increasingly heavy taxation, from the growing scarcity of food causing under-nourishment and physical deterioration, from continuous unemployment with riots and crime in its wake. The total monetary loss to the population during the four years of the war is estimated by the author at 854 million guilders. Thanks to the sound financial policy of Minister Treub, of which Dr. Van der Flier gives a very interesting account, the country came out of the war period with the value of its guilder unimpaired. But Holland's financial troubles did not cease with the Armistice. The story of the post-war development of Dutch finances is not included, however, in this survey, but will be described in a complementary essay, which is in course of preparation.

*Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Adelantado, Governor, and Captain-General of Florida: Memorial by Gonzalo Solís de Merás.* Translated from the Spanish with notes by Jeannette Thurber Connor. [Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, no. 3.] (Deland, Fla., published for the sustaining members of the Society, 1923, pp. 286.) It is highly proper that the new Florida State Historical Society should bring out, early in its series of publications, a translation of the memorial of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés written, apparently before the death of the *adelantado*, by his brother-in-law Gonzalo Solís de Merás. Though little known

till 1893, when Ruidiaz published it in his *La Flórida*, it is certainly entitled to the position of a classic. The early life of Menéndez is interestingly recounted in the first thirty pages. All the rest of the memorial is devoted to a minute narrative of all the *adelantado's* doings in the settlement of Florida, his conflicts with the French, and his relations with the Indians, from his arrival on the coast on St. Augustine's day in 1565 till his return to Spain in 1568. Everywhere the narrative reads like that of a thoroughly trustworthy eye-witness, who sets down frankly and without manifestation of feeling, impassively and yet with life and color, all that went on. His account of the massacres of the Huguenots is perfectly cool and detached. Yet from his chronicle one gets a vivid impression of high character on the part of Menéndez, loyal devotion to king and religion, rectitude and honor, and a high degree of efficiency. Mrs. Connor's translation, so far as tested by the reviewer, seems closely accurate and intelligent, yet reads well, and her explanatory foot-notes are very helpful and satisfactory. For the last half-dozen years of the life of Menéndez, 1568-1574, she pieces out his brother-in-law's story with extracts from Barcia. Appendixes present translations of the king's contract with the *adelantado* for the conquest and settlement of Florida, and of his last letter. There are a few excellent illustrations. The volume is an exceptionally handsome one.

*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* Volume LVI., October, 1922-June, 1923. (Boston, the Society, 1923, pp. xvii, 513.) The largest single element in this volume is a body of correspondence of the Civil War period, between four Dalton brothers of Boston, letters not concerning the greatest matters of the war-time, but illustrating in an interesting way many single engagements, minor matters, and aspects of army life as seen by intelligent young officers and surgeons. To the same period pertains a long paper by Capt. T. G. Frothingham, on the Crisis of the Civil War—Antietam, in which, with much emphasis and reiteration, he claims for McClellan's generalship the highest merits, even that of rapidity. For earlier periods, Chief Justice Rugg pushes back to 1680 the origin of the office of attorney general in Massachusetts; a set of entertaining letters, 1734-1740, illustrates the New England connections of Capt. Thomas Coram; Mr. Ford prints Franklin's accounts with Massachusetts; and Mr. C. S. Brigham describes his recent discovery of a German and English newspaper printed by Franklin in 1752, *Die Hoch Teutsche und Englische Zeitung*. A facsimile of this unique specimen is presented in a pocket in the volume. Mr. Harold Murdock discourses on the British in Concord on April 19, 1775, and Professor Bassett on President Jackson's Visit to New England in 1833. Of the commemorative papers on deceased members, Professor Morison's on Edward H. Clement is a distinct contribution to history.

*Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.* Volume XXIV. *Transactions, 1920-1922.* (Boston, the Society, 1923, pp. xvii, 526.) This volume continues the interesting, but naturally miscellaneous, transactions of this society from the point where they were left by volume XXI., volumes XXII. and XXIII. having been occupied with the records of the First Church of Plymouth. In the present volume the largest contributions relate to matters of the Revolutionary War. Mr. Octavius T. Howe treats of Beverly Privateers in the American Revolution to the extent of more than a hundred pages, giving from the Massachusetts archives and from local sources a full history of every privateer or letter of marque, and also contributing to the annals of illicit and ordinary trade in that period. The student of general American history will be especially interested in the rise of George Cabot and his brothers, and their relations with the firm of Gardoqui at Bilbao. Mr. Harold Murdock treats of Earl Percy's Retreat to Boston on April 19, 1775, exploding most of the tales of atrocities and exculpating Earl Percy from charges respecting them. Mr. William O. Sawtelle presents from the Bernard Papers the documents showing the history of the grant of Mt. Desert to Sir Francis Bernard and his long struggle to secure it. Mr. Herbert W. Denio treats of Massachusetts land grants in Vermont, and there are a number of papers respecting Harvard College antiquities.

*The Story of the Walloons at Home, in Lands of Exile, and in America.* By William Elliot Griffis, D.D., L.H.D. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923, pp. xix, 299, \$2.00.) This latest addition to Dr. Griffis's many publications appears at an opportune moment when the tercentenary of the arrival of the first colony of Walloons in America is being observed. We have known altogether too little about these colonists who, unlike their contemporaries at Plymouth, "had none among them like Bradford, to tell, even to minute particulars, their own story". Dr. Griffis makes many claims for the Walloons, obscured though these are by the mass of church history which the author's ecclesiastical training tempts him to insert. Among these claims are: "The Belgic Walloon was the pilot, predecessor, and exemplar of success to the French Huguenot", and "nine nations and three continents gratefully confess their deep debt to Walloon and Huguenot", and again, "they are looked upon as the founders of the whole system of metallurgy", and again, "the interiors even of their frontier homes were neater and more attractive than those of the Dutch and English settlers". Perhaps so, but in view of many manifest misstatements discoverable in the volume the historical student is inclined to wonder if the Doctor's enthusiasm for his subject has not led him to extravagant claims.

As an illustration, within the compass of a couple of pages only (178-180), the following misstatements may be noted: De Rasière (the final "s" which the author appends to this name cannot be justified by the secretary's autographs), in the very letter to Blommaert of which the

author speaks, says he arrived in America on July 27, 1626, *not* July 26, 1625. And the Doctor surely would be embarrassed to prove that September 23, 1626, was the exact date of the purchase of Manhattan from the Indians. Furthermore, it is strange to say that De Rasière's letter was *found* in 1919, when its existence has been known since 1847. Again, the statement that "America's mighty metropolis is an evolution from a fortress" is certainly misleading. Contemporary records leave no doubt that the settlers on Manhattan constructed their homes first and the fort afterwards, the latter not having been completed until 1635. Again, it is quite incredible that the name New Amsterdam "was not in common use until 1654", in view of its appearance as early as 1630, on de Laet's map.

It is a cause for gratification, however, that Dr. Griffis, with all his enthusiasm for the Walloons, admits (p. 144) that "we have no sure proof that any of the colonizers of 1624 settled on Manhattan".

A. EVERETT PETERSON.

*The History of the Post Office in British North America, 1639-1870.* By William Smith, sometime Secretary of the Post Office Department of Canada. (Cambridge, University Press, 1920, pp. ix, 356, 21 s.) The greater part of this volume is devoted to the history of the post office in what is now the Dominion of Canada. The first four chapters, however, constitute a history of the post office in North America prior to the American Revolution, where naturally the main emphasis is laid on the colonies which afterwards revolted. The author has made a judicious use of the records of the General Post Office, London, and Benjamin Franklin's account books, as well as the journals of the various colonial legislatures. Franklin's share in the transmission of mails is rather better known than that of Foxcroft and other colonial officials whom the author treats with a genuine appreciation of the services rendered. The control of the post office in the days just prior to the outbreak of the Revolution was a matter of some consequence, and the author makes out a case for a better understanding of its mechanism and function.

Just how the post office inevitably became a government monopoly can readily be traced in these pages. Yet in the early days the competition of private individuals caused the postal officials some concern. Certainly the only means by which a government monopoly in a free country can maintain its position is to outbid its rivals. The affair of the Hutchinson letters and Franklin's dismissal as deputy postmaster general in America made way for that picturesque figure William Goddard, whose contribution to the history of the post office in North America the author of this volume concludes with the story of his defalcation while postmaster at Providence, a fact which is set forth to demonstrate why, upon Franklin's return to power under the Continental Congress, Goddard failed to receive the secretaryship, which went to Franklin's son-in-law, Bache.

In his investigation of the history of the post office in those provinces now composing the Dominion of Canada, the author has done an ad-

mirable bit of weaving together the matters gleaned from the Public Archives of Canada. The troubles in the transmission of mails while Canada was in that ambiguous position between the American Revolution and the adoption of the British North America Act with the establishment of dominion government were apparently necessarily incident to the constitutional difficulties. Works of this sort, if they are of no other value, serve to convince us how hard someone had to work in order that the present generation might enjoy advantages which it too often takes for granted.

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

*History of Williamsburg; Something about the People of Williamsburg County, South Carolina, from the First Settlement by Europeans about 1705 until 1923.* By William Willis Boddie. (Columbia, S. C., State Company, 1923, pp. ix, 611, \$5.00.) In these days of great industrial and commercial centres, with their medley of foreign immigrants, when we are constantly told of the declining Nordic stock, it is refreshing to read of an early colonial settlement which has had uninterrupted native development and has preserved its simple rural life and Puritan atmosphere.

Such a story has Mr. Boddie given in his *History of Williamsburg*. We go back to the early eighteenth century and the King's Tree. The coming of the sober, sturdy Scotch Irish is depicted—with the admixture of English and French Huguenots. Colonial South Carolina, with its indigo and tobacco planters, the gloom of the Santee swamp, horse races, Indians, hunters, wild animals, fever, and slaves are all included. The next scene shows us the Revolution in the South—Whigs and Tories, the hoof-beats of Marion's men, the dash of Tarleton, and the lair of the Swamp Fox. Recuperation after war, constitutional progress, Presbyterianism regnant, Methodist missionaries, are set forth. Progress during the first half of the nineteenth century comes next. Cotton-planting and slavery, road and river transportation, nullification, old-fashioned religion and social life, politics, railroad building, are described.

The mighty drama of Secession and Civil War succeeds. We read of the irrepressible conflict, the firing on Fort Sumter, the war fever, soldier diaries, the bombardment of Charleston, prisoners between the lines, and the sunset of the Confederacy. Chapters on reconstruction and recent economic, educational, religious, and political progress and on the World War follow.

Mr. Boddie has given us an admirable account of two centuries of steady progress in a rural community which has sturdily clung to its Anglo-Saxon traditions and ideals. A few errors in spelling may be noted. This is the kind of local history which merits attention and of which more should be written.

D. HUGER BACOT.



*The Pennsylvania Germans.* By Jesse Leonard Rosenberger. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1923, pp. x, 173. \$1.60, postpaid.)

*The Strassburger Families and Allied Families of Pennsylvania.* By Ralph Beaver Strassburger. (Privately printed, 1924, pp. 520.) The subtitle of the former volume describes it as "a sketch of their [Pennsylvania Germans'] history and life, of the Mennonites, and of side-lights from the Rosenberger family". In brief compass it gives one of the most readable accounts to be found of the history and customs of the Pennsylvania Germans and their contribution, particularly in agriculture, to the development and enrichment of their state. The records of the Rosenberger family are reserved for the final chapter, and are there given for the most part as illustrations of the general economic conditions of the period. The preceding chapters are concerned with the historical background of Pennsylvania, the hardships escaped through emigration and those encountered in the new land, the general life and changes of the immigrants, their religion and education, the religious beliefs and the customs of the Mennonite and Amish groups, and with some proverbs and superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans. The book is well illustrated by recent photographs of types, churches, and scenes.

The second volume here noted is distinctly genealogical, being for the most part, as the title-page states, "the history of the ancestry of Jacob A. Strassburger", father of the author. But there are introductory chapters on the Palatines and the Pennsylvania Germans, and the numerous records given in the book of wills, inventories, and accounts, make an interesting contribution to the social and economic history of Pennsylvania. Johann Strassburger, the founder of the family in America, came to Philadelphia in 1742. The book is abundantly and handsomely illustrated by 33 photogravures and 168 half-tones, of persons, places, and things, including furniture, dishes, and family relics of every kind.

The author's account of his own contribution to his family's history is not restrained, and is illustrated by 35 pictures, among others, of himself, his wife, two of his son, all his numerous diplomas and certificates, his beautiful estate, the church in England in which he was married, his signature to his passport, and even its visas. One notes that he is a member of forty-seven clubs and organizations—among many more exclusive ones, the American Automobile Association. This volume was published before the spring primaries, in which the author received more or less political notice by having defeated the governor of Pennsylvania, as a delegate to the Republican national convention, by a vote that reads like the entire Republican majority usual in his native state.

L. F. S.

*Controversies between Royal Governors and their Assemblies in the Northern American Colonies.* By John F. Burns, O. S. A. (Villanova, Pa., the author, 1923, pp. 447, \$5.00.) This book deals with a theme of essential importance. Silently and surely during the generations



before 1775 the English colonies in America had raised themselves from the status of provinces to the position of commonwealths. This profound transformation is nowhere so fully and sharply revealed as in the persistent conflicts between the provincial governors and the local assemblies, the representatives of conflicting interests and political principles. Mr. Burns deals with the discordant relations between the legislative and executive branches in the four northern royal provinces of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, New York, and New Jersey. About one-half the space is allotted to the Bay Colony.

The copious foot-notes show that the author has labored patiently and carefully through much original and monographic material. The study, however, adds little that is essentially new to the history of the subject. The material utilized throws some additional light on the whole matter, but not a new light. What Mr. Burns has done was already done to a large extent by Greene's *Provincial Governor* for the subject in general and by special monographs for separate colonies. The chapter on New Jersey is built up largely upon the monographs by Tanner and Fisher. It is curious to note that the Board of Trade transcripts in Philadelphia were not used.

The author appreciates the significance of his theme; here and there he expresses shrewd judgments and displays insight into the meaning and bearing of his evidence. But the issues are not sharply defined and the picture is blurred by arrangement and by superabundance of detail. Each province is taken up separately and the author pursues a steady course from session to session of the assembly, from event to event, analyzing message after message which passed between governor and house dealing with constantly recurring problems and points. The style is labored and involved; some sentences leave doubt as to the meaning intended. A plethora of detail and an unattractive style do not make easy reading. And the study lacks something in the way of perspective. So fully has the author focused his attention upon the constant disputes between governors and assemblies that one is left to wonder whether any public business went forward at all. Again the author does less than justice to the royal governors in some cases. It is rather unfair to characterize Dudley as an "unscrupulous politician"; it is somewhat sweeping to speak of the "positive fraud of many early Governors". After reading the book one is inclined to wonder whether the colonies enjoyed any benefits within the British connection; and one would like to know just how far the assemblies as popular bodies really represented the people. The index is good, but the bibliography is badly arranged.

W. T. ROOT.

*Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution, 1764-1788, and the Formation of the Federal Constitution.* Selected and edited by S. E. Morison, Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History in the University of Oxford. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; Lon-

don and New York, Oxford University Press, 1923, pp. xliii, 367, 10 s. 6 d.) Among the many source-books of American history this volume is unique in that its contents are restricted to a comparatively short period, that from 1764 to 1788. Singular indeed is the choice of the ratification of the federal Constitution as the end of the Revolutionary period, a choice well justified when we remember that certain questions pertaining to the relationship between states and certain political ideals, which precipitated revolt against England, were likewise the subject of compromise and agreement in 1787 and 1788.

Compactness rather than diffusion characterizes the volume. Its materials are well chosen. Of the sixty-four selections only eleven are to be found in other manuals of sources. There is also a wise diversification; only two British statutes are included and much of the space so often given to statutes is here devoted to extracts from the pamphleteers. Valuable, too, are the administrative reports and instructions of the Board of Trade and Plantations (1768), the commissioners of the customs (1769), and the crown (1774). Far more pages are assigned to strictly American problems than imperial relations. Thus the state constitutions, the Articles of Confederation, ordinances and resolutions of the Continental Congress, debates in the Federal Convention, the federal Constitution, and debates in the Virginia convention of ratification consume far more space than the relations of America with the mother country, and matters of diplomacy and economics are entirely omitted. Four selections are drawn from manuscripts—the royal instructions of 1774, petitions from Massachusetts towns at the time of Shays's Rebellion, letters from the French chargé d'affaires in 1786, and one letter from Gouverneur Morris to Washington in 1787. An admirable introduction analyzes with particular care pertinent phases of scholarly opinion concerning the origins of the Revolution and gives a proper historical setting for the collection as a whole. Altogether the volume should prove to be of practical value both to the general student and to those specializing in the period from 1764 to 1788.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

*Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, 1775-1778.* Prepared for publication by the Division of Archives and History, James Sullivan, Ph.D., Director and State Historian. Volume I. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1923, pp. x, 1001, \$3.50.) The thousand and one pages of this well-edited volume are made up of the following: a five-page introduction by the editor and a short editorial comment on the manuscript; the oath of secrecy of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, with the names of the subscribers; the "General Association agreed to and subscribed by the Members of the several Committees of the City and County of Albany", with the names of the associators; the proceedings of the Albany Committee, arranged chronologically; and an appendix containing some of the committee's expense items and other accounts. Unfortunately, the work is without an index.

The proceedings, covering as they do the period 1775-1778, though they contain nothing really new, are of especial value to the student of the American Revolution, since, as Dr. Sullivan says, the committee engaged in

an almost bewildering array of activities. (1) The raising, drafting, equipping, disciplining, training, officering, stationing, and paying of troops. (2) The exemptions from military duty of those in essential industries or employment. (3) The detection, imprisonment, punishment, and exile of the disaffected, spies and emissaries. (4) The suppression of organized revolts . . . and the prosecution of those guilty of speaking adversely to the patriot cause. (5) The support of those made poor by the war, the burial of their dead, and the helping of refugees. (6) The collection of the excise and the regulation of taverns. (7) The supervision of the construction of hospitals, barracks, forts, and prisons. (8) The assumption of authority over the ordinances and powers of the city officers and the control of firemasters and fire regulations. (9) The regulation of prices for all kinds of articles, particularly tea, sugar, and salt. (10) The regulation and encouragement of trade and manufactures, and the inspection for bad products. (11) The handling of appeals to control housing difficulties, fix wages, and prevent hoarding. (12) The encouragement of auxiliary aid such as the knitting of socks for the soldiers, collecting linen rags, medicines, and instruments. (13) The control of the issuance of paper money and of counterfeiting. (14) The quarantining against smallpox. (15) The rationing of food, particularly of wheat, and preventing its distillation into whiskey. (16) Subscriptions for the poor at home and in Boston. (17) The supervision of elections of members in subdistricts and for members of the Provincial Congress and the Legislature. (18) The maintenance of law and order. (19) The establishment of night watches. (20) The management of Indian affairs and relations.

In addition to these activities a large part of the time of the committee was taken up with "the Tories, prisoners, deserters, murders, passes, rangers, protection of the loyal, robberies, plunder, sequestration of Tory property, and treason". Enlightening, too, are the relations of the committee "to its secret and sub-committees, the Provincial Congress, the Legislature", and the various committees in other states. The volume is nicely bound, and typographical errors are scarce.

O. W. STEPHENSON.

*Volney et l'Amérique, d'après des Documents Inédits et sa Correspondance avec Jefferson.* Par Gilbert Chinard. [Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, vol. I.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press; Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1923, pp. 207, \$1.25.) Students of our history will welcome this volume which contributes to a better understanding of certain phases of the problems between France and the United States at the close of the eighteenth century, and they will await with interest the appearance of the more detailed study promised by the same editor, "Jefferson and France". The letters

presented, seventeen written by Volney and fifteen by Jefferson, comprise a correspondence extending over the decade 1796 to 1806. Eight of the Jefferson letters and most of those by Volney, discovered in the Library of Congress, are here published for the first time.

When Volney, whose family name was Chassebeuf, joined during October, 1795, the group of French *émigrés* including, among others, Talleyrand, de Beaumetz, and Talon in "the ark of Noah", as Philadelphia was called by one of them, he was already well and favorably known by Franklin and Jefferson, both of whom he had met in Paris. While he had served as a member of the National Assembly, his reputation was established, primarily, as author of the *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie* (1787) and *Les Ruines* (1791). A translation by Jefferson of the *Invocation*, and of the first twenty chapters, constitutes the main portion of an English edition of the latter (1802).

After a month's sojourn in America, Volney wrote Jefferson reminding him of their earlier acquaintance and asking for an interview particularly on the problems of agriculture. For three weeks during June, 1796, Volney was a guest at Monticello. The following August, he again visited Jefferson (p. 89).

Although he was an agent, receiving a small stipend from the French government, there is no evidence in the correspondence with Jefferson nor in the two letters, also included in the volume, addressed to an unknown French correspondent, that he could fairly be accused of conspiring against the United States. In fact, on his return from the West, he expressly stated that the plan of Talleyrand for colonization by Frenchmen and the securing of Louisiana for France was "chimerical and dangerous". Volney maintained that he was among the first to suggest to Bonaparte that Louisiana should be transferred to the United States (p. 137).

Jefferson asserted that the Alien Act (1798) was aimed directly at Volney. He manifested no irritation on quitting the United States and was in agreement with Victor DuPont, one of his companions, that it would be to the best interest of France to avoid war with the United States. This correspondence was terminated, because of the ill health of Volney, with a letter from Jefferson, February 11, 1806, in which he discussed the results of the Lewis and Clark expedition and the marked annual increase in the westward migration of population.

In addition to an excellent bibliography and ample notes, the editor has presented a brief but satisfactory summary of French-American relations during the period; it was merely by oversight that he has made Thomas Pinckney the successor to James Monroe (p. 67).

JAMES ALTON JAMES.

*The Outlaws of Cave-in-Rock: Historical Accounts of the Famous Highwaymen and River Pirates who operated in Pioneer Days upon the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and over the Old Natchez Trace. By Otto*

A. Rothert. (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1924, pp. 364, \$6.00.) This might be called a fascinating volume of history. One is so accustomed to thinking of politics, religion, war, and such activities of society when the word history is spoken that it requires an effort to maintain the historical mind while reading it. One is also apt to laugh at himself for reading a history of such men as the Harpes, but I cannot recall reading a volume within a year's time with so much or so wide an interest. In fact I am personally a little vexed with Mr. Rothert for spoiling one of my pet illustrations. For some years in my class in historical method I had used the frequent short references to the Harpes in Western history and literature as an example of the hopeless confusion of fact, tradition, and romance. The reviewer of course has not been able to check up any considerable number of the author's references, though the few checked have been found accurate.

Three leading characters, "Big" or Micajah Harpe, "Little" or Wiley Harpe, and Samuel Mason, have been traced. These men operated in Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and Mississippi under various names or aliases. One can easily understand the difficulty of the investigation Mr. Rothert has made. The literature of travel, the scarce newspaper references, neighborhood traditions, county histories, and local court records have been used in piecing out the narrative.

The story is necessarily a little slow as literature, but as history it moves rapidly enough. It is a valuable contribution. One can easily understand by reading this volume why a new community would or will take the law into its own hands in the presence of such monsters as the Harpes. One will not be likely to blame the executioners of "Big" Harpe for not going to the county seat and getting the sheriff and a writ. In another way it illustrates forcibly one of the perils of the frontier and one of the grave duties of the pioneer—that of actively helping to enforce the law.

L. E.

*Days of Delusion: a Strange Bit of History.* By Clara Endicott Sears. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, pp. xxvi, 264, \$3.00.) Miss Sears's work on the Millerite delusion of 1843 has for its special value the use of a mass of personal recollections and anecdotes recently gathered by her from individuals living in that time of hysterical excitement and terrible suspense. From books and newspapers also she has collected vivid descriptions of Adventist meetings and the startling phenomena which Nature accommodately contributed to the general alarm in the form of shooting stars, northern lights, and the great comet. Contemporary woodcuts and the citation of Millerite hymns aid her in this concrete presentation, and her stories with definite names and places enable us to realize the shattering disillusionment of those who wore their ascension robes in vain.

In this story the figure of the prophet Miller, absorbed in the mathematics of apocalyptic Bible passages, looms high with sincerity and rel-

ative sobriety above the mass of capricious fanatics who were brought into action by him and whose miracles, visions, catalepsies, and talking in tongues he viewed with some disfavor. Of all these misguided people Miss Sears writes with a tender, compassionate sympathy, and in her poignant tale of the lovely and deluded Mary Hartwell and her nobly faithful lover she makes a little drama of great emotional appeal.

A story with these merits and so interestingly told need not be censured because it is not done in the pattern of academic research. Nevertheless the student of religious history is left without full gratification and may wish he were provided with a satisfying study of origins and results. Certain allusions show that the whole apocalyptic interest had origins wider and more remote than Miller's individual prophesying, and we should like to know the extent of such a movement and the full explanation of it. Was Miller's own interest in the matter spontaneous and unmediated? What was the exact geographical extension of this delusion? How did it affect the existing denominations and what effect had the shock of disappointed faith on people's attitude to the Bible or the churches? "Many never afterward held church relationships", says Morrill's *History of the Christian Denomination* (p. 176). Some answer to these questions might be won from a study of the Adventist churches and of the once widespread Christian Denomination, which in certain neighborhoods was considerably depleted by the Adventist enthusiasm. The columns of *The Christian Palladium* and a chapter in W. S. Harwood's *Life and Letters of Austin Craig* suggest possibilities of completer study. However, Miss Sears set her own limits to her theme, and the material which she has secured and her interesting use of it make her book a valuable contribution to knowledge.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*The Democratic Machine, 1850-1854.* By Roy Franklin Nichols, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CXI, no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1923, pp. 248, \$2.50.) This monograph is a valuable addition to the field of party history. The author has selected a difficult period and does much to make clear the forces at work during the period of party readjustment in the early 'fifties. He calls attention to the havoc wrought by the slavery issue in Democratic party politics and to the efforts to reorganize so as to win a victory in the campaign of 1852. Indeed, this study is in many ways an analysis of the forces that centred about the election of that year.

One feels that the author does not find his stride in the first chapter or two. There is a suggestion of an attempt at fine writing but shortly one comes to an effectively presented straightaway narrative. There is a suggestion of a tendency toward loose statement: *e. g.*, that the territorial legislation of 1850 incorporated the principle of "squatter sov-



ereignty" (p. 20); that the supporters of the compromise measures in Georgia formed a "Compromise union party" (p. 25); and that Clay and others sponsored "an attempt to unite all Compromise men of either faith into a union party" on a national scale (p. 27). But the analysis of the strength and following of the large list of Democratic candidates who scrambled for the presidential nomination is a conscientious and successful handling of a mass of source-material which the author has garnered largely from unpublished collections of contemporary correspondence.

ARTHUR C. COLE.

*Contemporary French Opinion on the American Civil War.* By W. Reed West, Ph.D., Instructor in Political Science, George Washington University. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XLII., no. 1.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1924, pp. 159, \$1.50.) Dr. West has handled in an excellent manner, thoroughly, intelligently, fairly, and with good judgment, a subject well deserving to be treated. He leaves at one side the diplomatic relations between France and the United States, as must be done until the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs permits access to Mercier's correspondence, and confines himself to the study of French opinion, as manifested in the public journals and elsewhere. A fuller statement concerning the French newspaper press in general, in 1861, and the characteristics and tendencies of various newspapers, would have been helpful; indeed this omission is a defect. But, from the beginnings of secession to the end of the war, French public opinion is carefully followed, with full information, in chapters on the original issues, on the Trent Affair, on the distress among the French workmen, on the discussions respecting mediation and recognition, on the Confederate propaganda, on the Mexican adventure of the emperor, and on the later developments—all well worth doing, and all well done. The reader will rise from the book with a heightened impression of the interest and insight with which the better sort of French newspapers followed the whole episode. Dr. West seems to write without prepossessions. Speaking of his chapter on the Confederate propaganda in Europe, the reviewer has seen, in a manuscript book which has now disappeared, the accounts of Henry Hotze for expenditures of Confederate secret-service money paid to writers and newspapers in France, Brussels, and Frankfort, as well as in England. In the latter country, by the way, one of these paid writers, for the *Index*, was Percy R. Greg, whose *History of the United States* the reviewer has, with some amusement in view of these accounts, seen described by a Southern writer as the work of an obviously impartial because English historian.

*The Ku Klux Klan: a Study of the American Mind.* By John Mofatt Mecklin, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology in Dartmouth College. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1924, pp. v, 244, \$1.75.)



This study is based upon careful and adequate preparation. It is rarely that one finds an account of an organization less than ten years old which is so satisfactory. It places the Klan with respect to historic American movements, finding it more akin in spirit to the A. P. A. and other nativistic agitations than to its ritualistic prototype. It frankly opposes the Klan, yet its tone is not bitter, and it gives confidence in the fairness of the judgments, which are freely expressed, often with an argumentative force that would be inappropriate were this a history. A sympathetic study of American Catholicism, the early portion of which is remarkable for the avoidance of mistakes in spite of a lack of detailed knowledge, concludes with the quotation: "The time-honored Anglo-Saxon and Evangelical aspersion of the integrity of Catholic citizenship . . . though diminishing in force . . . is, nevertheless, liable to recur in years to come."

The historian would like more concrete fact. For instance, the statement that "the charter was granted" (p. 4) leaves one entirely in the dark as to who granted it. In compensation is an admirable, though rather gloomy, analysis of the American middle class and its psychological aptitude for what the Klan represents. The success of the Klan in developing this field is attributed not to the strength of its central organization, but to advertising, and to the independence of the local chapters, which allows each locality to cater to its own peculiarities. Four stages of development are presented, the fraternal, that of "cleaning up", that of vitalizing deep-rooted prejudices, and finally that of entrance into politics. This projecting of the Klan against its background seems admirably done, though the reviewer would be inclined to give somewhat more emphasis to the attitude toward color. The importance of the Klan, moreover, seems to be somewhat exaggerated by leaving it solitary against its background. A mere enumeration of the other organizations based on fear and aiming at standardizing American life might have given a different sense of proportion. The author considers the Klan as past its peak, but looks for successors.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*Herbert Levi Osgood: an American Scholar.* By Dixon Ryan Fox. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1924, pp. 167, \$1.50.) Professor Osgood was for twenty-eight years a greatly respected professor in Columbia University, and produced three highly esteemed volumes on the institutional history of the American mainland colonies in the seventeenth century and four on the same theme pursued through the eighteenth century to the Revolution. His life was marked by no picturesque events, and indeed by little incident. His teaching and writing were never brilliant. But his character was so high and fine, his devotion to duty so exemplary, his industry so unremitting, his ideals of scholarship and thoroughness so exacting, his published work therefore so solid and so enduring, that to commemorate him by this little book

was a real service to our small world of professional historical scholars, and to such portion of the public as can be interested in our pursuits. The book would be profitable reading for every graduate student of history, and interesting and inspiring reading too, for Professor Fox, with much insight and literary skill, has contrived to invest this somewhat colorless life with much of the feeling we associate with the *Grammarian's Funeral*.

*T. Jefferson Coolidge, 1831-1920, an Autobiography.* (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1923, pp. 311.) Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, great-grandson of Thomas Jefferson, was a rich and public-spirited citizen of Boston. His autobiography, written for his family and privately printed in 1902, is now given wider circulation, in a handsome volume, by the Massachusetts Historical Society. For one year, 1892-1893, Mr. Coolidge was minister to France, and about a third of the volume is occupied with the experiences of that year. To the general student of history, this will perhaps be the most interesting part of the book. The author was also a member of the Pan-American Conference of 1889, of the Massachusetts state tax commission, and in 1898-1899 of the Joint High Commission for adjusting matters with Canada. In general, however, his contacts with public affairs lay on the financial and not on the political side, and were mostly local to Boston. There he had commanding positions in cotton manufactories, banks, and trust companies, having first made money rapidly during the Civil War. In that war he seems to have taken no part, beyond paying \$785 for a substitute, but records interesting conversations with McClellan and others, and occasional visits to Washington and the front. Travels at various periods, in Europe, with much contact with good society, in the West Indies, and in Colombia are also entertainingly recorded. The personal character revealed in the autobiography is that of a sagacious business man of perfect probity, a thorough Bostonian, a cool and detached observer of life, warm only in the prejudices of his class. Before the Civil War he was a typical "Cotton Whig", during it he opposed the administration, after it he was always a firm Republican, to whom all Republican doctrines on the tariff, on currency, and on the merits of the party and of its policies and conduct, were secure, indisputable, axiomatic.

*Public Letters and Papers of Thomas Walter Bickett, Governor of North Carolina, 1917-1921.* Compiled by Santford Martin, Private Secretary to the Governor, and edited by R. B. House, Archivist, North Carolina Historical Commission. (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1923, pp. vii, 394.) It is not often that the record of a mere governor's administration is thought to be of great importance; the story is seldom even one forty-eighth part as interesting either to the wayfaring man or the historian as that of a like period of national executive history. The record of Governor Bickett's administration is not,

however, without importance, nor is it lacking in genuine interest, whether it be viewed from within or without the state.

Governor Bickett has testified that there was a time, not so long ago, when North Carolina was "a study in statics". About a generation ago, however, the state awoke and began to make "tremendous strides along the highways of progress"; and it was Governor Bickett's determined purpose that during the period of his guidance North Carolina should continue to go forward, and should even quicken the pace. Accordingly he launched, in his inaugural message, in January, 1917, a clear-cut programme of measures which he conceived were required for the state's welfare and progress. Almost immediately, however, the country was plunged into the Great War, and domestic reforms had perforce to yield place in large part to activities necessitated by the war. And yet, when the governor's administration came to a close, out of forty-eight measures which he had recommended forty had been enacted into law.

It is, however, as a leader and administrator in matters pertaining to the war that Governor Bickett stands out conspicuously. Into that cause he threw himself body and soul, and in the forge of war measures he wielded the hammer mightily and with skill. Whether in the presentation of a measure for the consideration of the legislature or in his proclamations and appeals to the public, Governor Bickett is apt and forceful beyond the ordinary; and some of his occasional addresses, addresses which have for their theme the ideas and ideals which lay at the foundation of his hopes and plans for his state, must take high rank among their kind. But it is rather those speeches which pertain to the war and the measures to which the war gave rise, in which Governor Bickett appears at his best. Yet if one would judge him as a governor, as a leader of his state, one must not be content to read the speeches alone; one must follow him day by day through his letters, telegrams, and other utterances as occasion arose and called for expression and action. One may not always agree with him, but one is bound to feel great respect for his conviction and intelligence.

This volume is, then, more than anything else what North Carolina, through her governor, thought and did in the momentous period from 1917 to 1920.

E. C. B.

*The Story of Detroit.* By George B. Catlin, Librarian of the Detroit News. (Detroit, Detroit News, 1923, pp. xix, 764, \$2.00.) Detroit is an old city, as American cities go. Its history stretches back to the days of Louis XIV., who made to Cadillac a grant of land and a body of privileges which the latter began to use in 1701. Until Quebec fell Detroit was a French and Indian town; then for about forty years it was an English headquarters for the fur trade. In 1805 the old town was destroyed by fire, and was rebuilt by the newly arrived United States governor and judges, who had come to establish territorial government.

To-day it is the fourth city of the country in point of population. Furs, lumber, freight-cars, and automobiles have been the sources of its prosperity; a great river gives beauty of situation; and early and persistent attention to education has promoted culture. Into the old French pool New England, both through New York state and by way of the Ohio country, poured an energizing stream of hardy pioneers, who have been reinforced by enterprising Canadians. All these varied forces are noted in Mr. Catlin's story, which flows through the two and a quarter centuries with the resistless current of the Detroit River itself. The author takes no time for excursions into romance, to discuss causes and tendencies, or even to check up the vast multitude of facts that load his pages. Perhaps it is still too early for an impartial discussion of the notable career of Mayor and Governor Pingree of "potato-patch" fame; and the space allotted to the rise and development of the automobile industry is too brief to act as anything more than a sign-board to point the way to other sources. Indeed the "story" turns out to be, in the main, aggregations of facts heaped into topical chapters, which comprise even one on Moving Pictures and Nickelodeons. The reader is surprised to find half a chapter on political reform placed under the heading of "Changes in Lake Navigation" (p. 581), and also that the record of lake shipping is so meagre. It is not strictly true (p. 358) that the state of Michigan "did not attempt to repudiate the bonds for which she had received no money". The "Five million dollar loan" bonds were "adjusted" on the basis of \$302.73 per \$1000 for the bonds upon which partial payments had been made by the United States Bank of Pennsylvania (not the Morris Canal and Banking Company). Foreigners who had purchased in good faith were compelled to accept such scaling down. Mr. Catlin's work might well be called stories of Detroit: it contains not so much materials for history as indication of fields that might repay cultivation.

## COMMUNICATION

*Editor, American Historical Review:*

My attention has been called to a review of *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist*, by Professor William E. Dodd in your January number which contains some strictures on General Joseph E. Johnston.

Shortly before the latter's death he was requested by the Appletons to select a biographer for the sketch of him which was to be included in the *Great Commanders* series, and he honored me by the designation. The book appeared in 1893. I still feel an obligation to protect his memory, and this is my apology for asking the privilege of a reply.

At the risk of unduly lengthening this communication, I quote Professor Dodd's exact language, rather than attempt to paraphrase it:

But Davis, a thousand miles away, did not order Pemberton, although it might have been better for the Confederacy if he had done so. The same and more must be said of the military part of the correspondence of Davis with Joseph E. Johnston at Jackson, where he idled and delayed until Grant and Sherman destroyed Pemberton. No historian who studies the facts and the record can fail to wonder why Pemberton and Johnston spent the four months preceding July 1, 1863, forty miles apart, thus allowing the Union forces to march down the Louisiana side of the Mississippi, cross the great river at high water, and then thrust their forces between the two Confederate leaders fifty miles north of Port Gibson! Whoever was responsible for the loss of Vicksburg, it was not Davis.

This statement that Johnston and Pemberton were within forty miles of each other from March 1, 1863, to July 1, 1863, professes to be based upon a study of the record, but is absurdly incorrect. As to Johnston, it is easy to prove an alibi. The historical student need look no further than the captions of his military correspondence to ascertain that during March and April (with the exception of some inspection trips) he was either at Chattanooga or Tullahoma performing duties in connection with Bragg's army under express directions from the War Department. During much of April he was unfit for field service on account of his wound, and he reported this to the War Department. He had no means of knowing conditions in Mississippi except from Pemberton's dispatches, and the latter (to use Johnston's expression of February 12, 1863) was "not communicative". It was not until April 29th that Pemberton reported any serious situation in his department. On May 1st he made the same report to Davis. At that time Grant had already marched down the Louisiana side of the river and landed on the Mississippi side with the aid of his co-operating fleet, and the damage had been done. Pemberton gives Johnston no further report of his situation till May 7th. The War Department waits till May 9th to order Johnston to Mississippi, to which he replies that he will go at once though unfit for field service. He ar-

rives on the 13th at Jackson and finds that Grant by his energetic operations had already cut communication between Jackson and Vicksburg. He finds but 6,000 troops in Jackson—and they had certainly not been there for four months. Every order that he gives Pemberton looking to a junction is disobeyed. On the 16th Grant wins the battle of Baker's Creek and drives Pemberton into Vicksburg. He then draws his besieging lines around Vicksburg, making them—to use his own expression—as strong against Pemberton as Pemberton was against him; while he also fortified against Johnston, using the Big Black as an auxiliary. His army was about 50,000 strong.

This leaves open simply the question whether Johnston could have relieved Vicksburg.

The records will show that on his assumption of his new assignment in November, 1862, he urged a strengthening of the Mississippi Department and that Trans-Mississippi troops be used for the purpose. Davis does not seem to have waked up until Pemberton's alarmist telegram of May 1st. Then he calls frantically upon Beauregard for troops. But the bulk of these do not reach Jackson till late in May, and then, having mainly come by rail, they are deficient in transportation and practically everything else. Up to the end of May Johnston had only about 17,000 men. At the end of June he had about 28,000. Grant then had about 75,000. In his *Memoirs* he says:

Johnston evidently took in the situation and wisely, I think, abstained from making an assault on us, because it would simply have inflicted loss on both sides without accomplishing any result. We were strong enough to have taken the offensive against him; but I did not feel disposed to take any risk of losing our hold on Pemberton's army, while I would have rejoiced at the opportunity of defending ourselves against an attack by Johnston.

ROBT. M. HUGHES.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA,  
February 28, 1924.

CHICAGO, April 3, 1924.

Judge Robert M. Hughes thinks I have misrepresented the work and responsibility of his kinsman, General Joseph E. Johnston, in the Vicksburg campaign. His references to letters and telegrams tend to show his claim to be correct. I have worked through all that mass of material and am wholly convinced that another and a further study would make it plainer still that I was correct in my statement both of opinion and of fact. That would cause Judge Hughes to go over it all once more without changing his view. Hence I must leave the matter where it is. If anyone chooses to think I have been reckless or actuated by personal feeling, I shall have to let him think so. When men asked who was responsible for the loss of Gettysburg, General Lee put an end to the inquiry by saying: "I was responsible."

WILLIAM E. DODD.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

If any who have numbers of the *American Historical Review* which they do not wish to keep will send them to the editorial office, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., without prepaying carriage, such gifts will be gratefully received, and can be used to good effect, in Europe or elsewhere. The costs of carriage will be defrayed by the *Review*, either by refunding postage or, in the case of consignments from a distance, by their being sent by express "collect".

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies, of which the American Historical Association is one of the twelve constituent members, framed some time ago, through a committee of which J. F. Jameson is chairman, a plan for an extensive *Dictionary of American Biography*, intended to be prepared on lines similar to those of the *British Dictionary of National Biography* edited by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee. Previous projects for such a work have failed of realization because of the great outlay of money necessary for preparing in proper scholarly manner a manuscript so extensive. It is a pleasure to be able now to announce that a donor (anonymous for the present) has been found of so great public spirit as to agree to defray all the expenses of preparing the biographies. It is expected that the task of preparation will continue for some ten years, and that it will be some three years from the present time before the first volume can be expected to appear. The council is now forming the necessary organization for executing the work.

At the instance of the Carnegie Corporation, and partly for its purposes, the American Council of Learned Societies has undertaken the preparation of a general survey of the humanistic societies of the United States, their composition, character, modes of procedure, productions, and general position in the intellectual life of the United States. The preparation of this report has been entrusted by the council to Mr. Waldo G. Leland, who at the end of June has returned from Paris, and for the remainder of the year has, for the purpose named, leave of absence from the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

### PERSONAL

Professor Moritz Ritter of Bonn died on December 28, at the age of nearly eighty-three. He had been a professor at Bonn since 1873. His chief work was his *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation und des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (3 vols., 1887-1909), preceded by his *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreiss. Krieges* (3 vols., 1870-1877).

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Professor Frederick J. Turner retired in this last month from the chair of American history in Harvard University which he has occupied for the last fourteen years; he will hereafter reside in Madison, Wisconsin. Dr. Edwin F. Gay returns to Harvard next autumn, resuming at the beginning of the academic year his former chair of economic history. Dr. Robert H. Lord of that university has been promoted to a full professorship in history.

Dr. Halford L. Hoskins has been appointed Dixon professor of English and American history in Tufts College and granted a half year's leave of absence for purposes of research in England looking toward the completion of his study of the development of British routes to India and the East since 1798, parts of which have already been published.

Professor Theodore Collier of Brown University will be absent on leave during the year 1924-1925, lecturing at the American College for Women in Constantinople, and travelling in southeastern Europe and the Levant.

Professor Allen Johnson of Yale University has been granted leave of absence and contemplates making a tour of the world, spending a large part of his time in Japan, China, and India. During his absence Professor William MacDonald will conduct his courses.

Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, who has been on leave of absence for some years, will resume his duties there at the beginning of February, 1925. Professor Alfred F. Pollard, of the University of London, will teach in Columbia University throughout the first half of the coming academic year, in the capacity of a visiting professor in Barnard College.

Dr. Samuel F. Bemis, hitherto of Whitman College, but temporarily connected during the past year with the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, went to Spain in May for fuller study of the earlier diplomatic relations between Spain and the United States; on his return, in September, he becomes professor of American history in George Washington University.

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt is to teach at the University of Chicago during the autumn and winter quarters of next year, giving courses on pre-war diplomacy and the new states of eastern Europe. He has been promoted from associate professor to professor in Western Reserve University.

Professor Carl Wittke, of the Ohio State University, will substitute for Professor A. M. Schlesinger at Iowa State University during this next year, Professor George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota taking up Professor Wittke's work at Ohio State.

Professor W. M. Gewehr of Denison University will go as exchange professor of history to Tsing Hua College, Peking, for the year 1924-1925, and the exchange professor from China will be Carrol B. Malone.

Professor W. T. Morgan, of Indiana University, who has had leave of absence during the past year, spending it in researches in the archives of London, Paris, and Turin, will return to his duties at the university at the beginning of the year.

Professor A. P. Scott of the University of Chicago has leave of absence for the year 1924-1925. He expects to make a tour of Africa and of some of the Far Eastern countries for the purpose of studying colonial administration.

Professor Alfred W. Newcombe of Knox College has leave of absence for the next year, and expects to spend his time chiefly in researches in London.

Professor Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin, has leave of absence for the second half of the approaching academic year.

Professor E. D. Adams of Stanford University has gone to Europe, where he will spend six months in the interest of the Hoover War Library.

We note promotions and appointments as follows: Professor R. A. Newhall of Yale, to be professor of European history in Williams College; J. B. Hedges of Harvard, to be assistant professor of American history in Clark University; J. B. Botsford of Brown University, to be assistant professor of history; J. W. Black of Colby College, to be professor of history in Union College (Schenectady); R. L. Schuyler of Columbia University, to be professor of history; Lynn Thorndike of Western Reserve, to be professor of European history in Columbia; Allen Johnson of Princeton, to be professor of Roman history, and R. G. Albion, to be assistant professor of history; I. E. McDougale of Sweet Briar College, to be professor of history in Goucher College; A. E. Morse of Princeton, to be professor of history in Temple University (Philadelphia); P. N. Garber of Brown, to be assistant professor of history in Trinity College (N. C.); J. E. Pomfret, to be assistant professor of history in the University of South Carolina; S. S. McKay of Ohio State University, to be professor of history in Furman University (S. C.); F. B. Artz of Harvard, to be assistant professor of history in Oberlin College; Howard Robinson of Carleton University (Minn.), to be head of the department in Miami University; Norman MacDonald of Simmons College, to be professor of history in Wooster College; O. W. Stephenson of Michigan, to the University of Minnesota for the year; C. B. Goodykoontz of the University of Colorado, to be professor of history; W. F. Galpin of Michigan, to be assistant professor of history in the University of Oklahoma; C. F. Brand of Michigan, to be assistant professor of history in Stanford University; R. G. Trotter of Stanford, to be professor of history in Queen's University (Kingston).

Later information enables us to add that Dr. Arthur B. Darling, instructor in American history in Yale University, has been promoted to

an assistant professorship; and that Dr. Laurence H. Gipson, of Wabash College, has become professor of history and government, and head of the department, in Lehigh University.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted: Professor W. E. Lunt of Haverford College is to teach in Cornell University; J. S. Bassett of Smith College, and Theodore Collier of Brown University, in Columbia University; V. W. Crane of Brown University, in the University of Michigan; J. F. Baldwin of Vassar College, in the University of Chicago; Howard Robinson of Carleton University, in the University of Minnesota; W. M. Gewehr of Denison University, Clarence Perkins of the University of North Dakota, C. W. Ramsdell of the University of Texas, A. H. Sweet of St. Lawrence University, and S. L. Joslin, in the University of Colorado; L. M. Larson of the University of Illinois, in the University of Montana; F. J. Turner of Harvard University, in the Utah Agricultural College.

#### GENERAL

In the annual meeting of the Union Académique Internationale, at Brussels, May 12-14, the American Council of Learned Societies was represented by Professors E. C. Armstrong and Paul Shorey and Mr. W. G. Leland. There were reports of progress respecting the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (see page 824), and respecting the catalogue of alchemic manuscripts, of which two volumes have appeared. The first number of the *Bulletin DuCange*, the organ of the international committee on the dictionary of medieval Latin, has appeared, and in most countries the national subcommittees are actively at work in the examination of the texts assigned to them.

The Fifth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Brussels, April, 1923, voted to continue in office the international "bureau" of the Congress for the purpose of organizing a permanent International Committee of Historical Sciences and for the further consideration of various proposals which had been laid before the Congress (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 654). The bureau met accordingly at Brussels on May 15, 1924. There were present, as members or in an advisory capacity, Professors or Messrs. Pirenne (Ghent), chairman, Delehay, S.J. (Brussels), Dembinski (Warsaw), de Sanctis (Turin), Dopsch (Vienna), Ganshof (Brussels), Homolle (Paris), Koht (Christiania), Leland (Washington), Lhéritier (Paris), Mirot (Paris), Powicke (Manchester), and Vinogradoff (Oxford). Various resolutions of the Congress were taken into consideration. A proposal of Professor Powicke for the preparation of a catalogue of *incipit* of Latin manuscripts of the Middle Ages was approved in principle and referred to the Union Académique Internationale. The plan of the proposed international review of economic history (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 652) was approved. A plan suggested to the Congress by J. F. Jameson for

the resumption on an international basis of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* was approved in principle, and referred to the projector for further elaboration and report. The question of the meeting-place of the Sixth Congress (1928) was, after preliminary discussion, left to be decided at the meeting in May, 1925, of the permanent International Committee of Historical Sciences. A tentative plan for the organization of such a committee, drawn up by Mr. Leland, was discussed, and referred to a committee of which he is secretary, for further consideration and for definitive action next May.

The second number of the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, which will be ready in October, will contain an article entitled, Some Problems of Ancient History, by Professor J. Stuart Reid, one on the Marshalcy of the Eyre, by Miss Helen L. Cam, one on Napoleon and Sea Power, by J. Holland Rose, one on Canadian Problems, 1840-1850, by Professor J. L. Morison, now of Armstrong College, Newcastle, and one on the Eastern Crisis of 1840, written from the unpublished papers of Lord John Russell by G. P. Gooch. Several interesting notes and communications are also promised.

On the date of the celebration of the fourth centennial of the birth of Camoens the Catholic University of America dedicated the Ibero-American Library of some 40,000 books presented to it by Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, formerly a Brazilian ambassador and now a professor in the university, and by Senhora de Oliveira Lima. The collection is, naturally, especially strong in Portuguese and Brazilian material, literary and historical.

Professor L. M. Sears contributes to the April number of the *Historical Outlook* a paper on August Belmont, Banker in Politics, based upon Belmont's correspondence. Professor Sears finds no evidence that Belmont and the Rothschilds had any hand in financing the Southern Confederacy, and reaches, upon the whole, a favorable estimate of Belmont personally. Professor Harry G. Plum discusses in this number the problem of correlating English history with American history in the high school. The May number contains an article by Mr. Arthur M. Hyde on Western Learning in Japan before the Coming of Perry, and one by Professor J. E. Gillespie on National Industrial Development through International Forces.

Almost the whole of the June number of the *Historical Outlook* is occupied with a report by Professor Edgar Dawson, of Hunter College, New York, on a History Inquiry which has been conducted under his direction, with the aid of an advisory committee of the American Historical Association, and with means furnished by the Institute of Educational Research of Teachers College, Columbia University. The purpose of the inquiry was the practical one of discovering the present condition and tendencies of history teaching in schools, and the report confines itself in the main to the presentation of the facts found or in-

ferred. The procedure seems to us to have been in all points intelligent, catholic, unbiassed, and sufficiently extensive, and the report a model of fair, comprehensive, and penetrating statement. So full and excellent a description of the existing state of things will be invaluable as a basis for future improvement and progress.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for April records the proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, held at Columbus last December, and prints the presidential address of Professor C. H. McCarthy on the Importance of Stresses and Omissions in the Writing of American History. There are also articles on John Colet, by Rev. Dr. Edwin Ryan, on Father Antonio Vieira, S.J., in Brazil by Leo J. Callanan, and an address on Diplomacy delivered before the Historical Club of the Catholic University, by the commercial counsellor of the British embassy, Mr. J. J. Broderick.

The Pulitzer prize for the best book of 1923 upon the history of the United States has been awarded by the authorities of Columbia University to Professor Charles H. McIlwain for his volume entitled *The American Revolution: a Constitutional Interpretation* (reviewed *ante*, pp. 775-778); the prize for the best biography published in the United States during the year was awarded to Professor Michael Pupin for his autobiography entitled *From Immigrant to Inventor*.

A new world history in twelve volumes is projected under the direction of Professor E. Cavaignac of Strasbourg, who is the author of the first volume, *Prolégomènes* (Paris, Boccard, 1924, pp. ix, 373).

Professor Erich Marcks of the University of Berlin leads a considerable group of German scholars, among whom are Eduard Meyer and Hermann Oncken, in the preparation of a three-volume collection of biographies ranging from Darius I. to Yuan Shi Kai and including Jefferson and Lincoln. It bears the title *Meister der Politik* and is published by the Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt of Stuttgart (1923).

M. Henri-Robert, the French academician, has published a third volume of his *Grands Procès de l'Histoire* (Paris, Payot, 1924, pp. 256), including those of Marie Antoinette and the Duc d'Enghien.

The address on History and Literature which Mr. George M. Trevelyan gave during this last winter at some American universities is to appear in the July number of the English periodical *History*, and also in the September number of the *Yale Review*.

Teachers of history should be especially interested in a *Report on the Teaching of History* recently issued by the British Board of Education (*Educational Pamphlets*, no. 37, 1923) prepared by a committee of government inspectors and ex-inspectors of schools. It can be obtained from H. M. Stationery Office for sixpence; it is described by Mr. C. H. K. Marten in the April number of *History*.

A *History of Political Thought*, by Professor Raymond G. Gettell, has been included in the *Century Political Science Series* (New York, the Century Company).

The American Jewish Historical Society held its thirty-second annual meeting in Philadelphia, May 24 and 25. Many papers of historical interest were read.

Rabbi Ephraim Friesch has published, through the house of Macmillan, *An Historical Survey of Jewish Philanthropy from the Earliest Times to the Nineteenth Century*.

The *Journal of Negro History* has in the April number a paper by R. H. Taylor on Feeding Slaves; an extensive body of despatches (1688-1759) from Spanish officials bearing on the free negro settlement of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, Florida, collected by Miss Irene A. Wright; and materials from the census of 1830 showing the names of absentee owners of slaves and the numbers of slaves in each group.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Baron S. A. Korff, *An Introduction to the History of International Law* (American Journal of International Law, April).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

Mesopotamian social life in antiquity is treated in *Sumer et Akkad; Contribution à l'Histoire de la Civilisation dans la Basse-Mésopotamie* (Paris, Geuthner, 1923, pp. 152), by Ch. F. Jean.

A Société Française d'Égyptologie has lately been formed in Paris, under the presidency of M. G. Bénédict. Among other undertakings it proposes to publish a *Revue d'Égyptologie Ancienne* (2 rue Valette).

The bibliographical list of references on ancient Egypt, which has been appearing in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, is continued in the March number, though not in that of April, and will be finished in that of May.

We have already had occasion to speak of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, the great repertory of the ancient ceramics of the Mediterranean basin and the Near and Middle Orient which has been undertaken, as an international enterprise, by the Union Académique Internationale. Messrs. Champion of Paris have now issued the second fascicle of the vases of the Musée du Louvre, edited by M. E. Pottier, the general editor of the whole undertaking. It embraces 49 plates, some of proto-Elamite vases, some of Attic. Sections on the vases of the Musée Vivienel, at Compiègne, by Mme. Marcelle Flot, on those of the museum of Sèvres, by Mme. Massoul, and on the collection of F. Mouret at Vendres, by the owner, are in press. The same firm has published also an elaborate work by Dr. K. Friis Johansen, of the Copenhagen museum, on *Les Vases Sicyoniens* (pp. 194, pl. 45), dealing with the important body of material called proto-Corinthian, and a *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, by Dr. J. C. Hoppin, a magnificent vol-

ume of 133 plates, forming the complement to his *Handbook of Red-Figured Vases* published by the Harvard University Press, and embracing all signed vases not comprised in the former volume.

The Cambridge University Press expects before long to publish a new book by Mr. T. R. Glover, *Herodotus*, dealing with his history, his influences, and the developments of religion and political freedom in his time shown in his work.

A valuable contribution to the history of ancient medicine is made by the appearance, in the *Loeb Classical Library*, of *Hippocrates*, with an English translation and introduction by W. H. S. Jones.

Professor Charles H. Oldfather of Wabash College prints in the series of *University of Wisconsin Studies* a monograph of 104 pages on *The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*. The first half is a list of 1167 papyri falling within the Greek literary field; the second part gives such facts and inferences as can be given respecting the use of the literary texts in the schools and the chronological distribution and provenience of papyri of this class.

*Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, by I. Abrahams, second series (Cambridge University Press), is, like his previous volume, a valuable contribution to a fuller knowledge of Rabbinic teaching and of the background of New Testament life in general.

*The Inns of Greece and Rome* by W. C. Firebaugh (Chicago, F. M. Morris) is spoken of as a scholarly but lively and interesting book, showing effectively a noteworthy section of the seamy side of ancient life.

The Cambridge University Press announces a study by M. P. Charlesworth of the *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*.

In a series of historical volumes intended both for scholars and for readers of general cultivation, to be published by Giuseppe Principato, of Rome and Messina, a beginning has been made by the publication of *Tacito*, a monograph of pp. 328 on the great historian by Professor Concetto Marchesi, of the University of Messina.

In an illustrated volume entitled *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting* (University of Chicago Press), Professor J. H. Breasted gives the history of an expedition of 1920 in the Mesopotamian regions, but especially treats of the remarkable ancient wall-painting at Salihyah, on the right bank of the Euphrates, toward Palmyra. The painting, which he was forced to examine and copy in haste, has since been seriously damaged; it is of the first century A. D.

*The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*, being the Schweich Lectures for 1921, by the Laudian professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, Dr. D. S. Margoliouth, is announced for publication by Humphrey Milford on behalf of the British Academy.



Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ida C. Thallon, *The Tradition of Antenor and its Historic Possibility* (American Journal of Archaeology, January-March); H. Grant Robertson, *The Administration of Justice in the Athenian Empire* (University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics, IV. 1); H. Gomperz, *Die Sokratische Frage als Geschichtliches Problem* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIX. 3); P. Jouguet, *Les Lagides et les Indigènes Égyptiens* (Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, July, 1923); I. Dall'Osso, *L'Urbs Quadrata sul Palatino e la Vera Roma sul Tevere* (Nuova Antologia, April 16); J. Carcopino, *L'Intervention Romaine dans l'Orient Hellénique*, concl. (Journal des Savants, January); J. W. Pratt, *A Chapter of Ancient Sea Power: the Mithridatic Wars* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, April); L. Halphen, *Les Origines Asiatiques des Grandes Invasions* (Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, July, 1923).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: *Bibliographie* [works on ecclesiastical history and auxiliary sciences, 1922, 1923] (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January).

In the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* (Champion) there will soon be issued a volume on the *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, from the death of the Emperor Anastasius I. to the Mohammedan invasion (518-641), by J. Maspero.

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: *Livres Nouveaux* [bibliography of books on medieval history and auxiliary sciences, 1922-1923] (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, July-Dec., 1923).

Professor James F. Willard's second bulletin of *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America* (to be obtained from the compiler, Boulder, Colorado) comes just in time to be barely mentioned here. It embraces both historical and Latin studies, extends its scope in several particulars beyond that of the first bulletin, and will be of much service to the workers in these fields.

*Reference Studies in Medieval History*, by Professor James W. Thompson, useful lists of readings for all the important topics in the history of the Middle Ages, the University of Chicago Press issues in three parts, one for the dark ages, one for the feudal period, one for the later Middle Ages (pp. xxvi, 342), interleaved with blank pages.

After a ten years' interruption, Professor Paul Kehr, for many years director of the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, has resumed the publication of his *Italia Pontificia*, bringing out part 1 of his seventh volume (Berlin, Weidmann, 1923, pp. xxiii, 239); it embraces the documents of the patriarchate of Aquileia, excepting the dioceses of Como and Trent, already covered, and presents 743 documents where Jaffé had

366. Pope Pius XI. contributed largely toward the costs of publication. At the same time appears vol. II., pt. 1, of *Germania Pontificia*, ed. A. Brackmann (*ibid.*, pp. xxxiv, 354), embracing the dioceses of Eichstätt, Augsburg, and Constance (except the now Swiss portion), with 405 documents of popes and legates, of which 143 are not in Jaffé.

In the series of *Broadway Translations* (London, Routledge) teachers of medieval history will find a useful volume, *Gesta Romanorum* translated by Charles Swan (pp. xx, 472).

Sir E. A. Wallis Budge has published *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary* (London, Medici Society, 1923, pp. lviii, 359), drawn from Ethiopian manuscripts of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, most of which are in the British Museum. The work is adorned with sixty-four plates, reproducing the illuminations of the manuscripts.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Basileus, und Papst in der Zeit der Ottonen* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXIX. 3); Rudolf Falk, *Italienisch-Deutsche Zusammenfassung in der Zeit von 900-1056* (*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XV. 3, 4); Dom U. Berlière, *Honorius III. et les Monastères Bénédictins* (*Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, July, 1923).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A new series, edited by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, lately minister of education, is to be published in London by Messrs. Ernest Benn under the title *The Modern World: a Survey of Historical Forces*, intended to serve as "a balanced survey, with such historical illustrations as may be found necessary, of the tendencies and forces, political, economic, and intellectual, which are moulding the lives of contemporary states". The portions thus far mentioned are volumes on Ireland by Stephen Gwynn, on Germany by Dr. G. P. Gooch, on Turkey by Arnold Toynbee, on Russia by Valentine O'Hara and N. Makeef, on the Arab States by Gertrude Bell, on India by Sir Valentine Chirol, on Norway by G. Gathorne Hardy, on Poland by Ralph Butler, on Chile by Don Augustin Edwards. The volume on Bulgaria and Rumania has appeared.

*Side-Lights on the Thirty Years' War* (London, Broadway House), by Hubert G. R. Reade, just issued in three volumes, is a work of history and reference based largely on original documents in Continental archives and libraries.

Principal C. Grant Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew have brought out a second edition, revised and enlarged, of their *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from 1789* (Oxford University Press). The first edition (1915) has often been highly commended and is familiar to teachers. The treaties which have followed the World War having profoundly altered the political geography of Europe and of other continents, a new

edition became indispensable. The revision has been effected by adding nine new pages on the new Europe and six new maps, showing Europe as left by the recent treaties, Austria and the states which have taken up its succession, Poland and the Baltic states, those of the Balkan region, the Near East with its mandates, and the Pacific with its spheres of influence.

Mr. R. B. Mowat, fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and author of *A History of European Diplomacy, 1815-1914*, has nearly ready for publication (Longmans) a learned work on *The Diplomacy of Napoleon*.

Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes has brought out a revised edition of vol. II. of his *Political and Social History of Modern Europe* (1815-1924), adding not only a new part, entitled "Storm and Stress", which treats of the significant events of the World War and its aftermath, but also thoroughly revising the chapter on international relations from 1871 to 1914, concerning the diplomatic background of the war.

The Soviet government has published from Russian archives the *Correspondance entre Guillaume II. et Nicolas II., 1894-1914*, which has been translated into French by Marc Semenoff and issued at Paris under the above title (Plon, 1924, pp. iv, 220).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Maurice Paléologue, *Romantisme et Diplomatie*, I., *Talleyrand*; II., *Metternich* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 15, April 1); J. Dontenville, *Les Traités de 1815*, I., II. (*Nouvelle Revue*, April 15, May 1); Lieut.-Col. É. Mayer, *Jomini* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, May); L. Mickiewicz, *Jules Michelet et Adam Mickiewicz; Lettres Intimes* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1); C. Pagani, *Le Annessioni dell' Italia Centrale al Piemonte e la Cessione alla Francia di Nizza e Savoia* (*Nuova Antologia*, January 16); E. Le Marchand, *Les Étapes de la Triple Alliance, d'après les Archives Secrètes de la Chancellerie de Vienne* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); C. L. Hartmann, *Die Russischen Archive und die Französische Presse* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, April).

#### THE WORLD WAR

The collection of materials for the history of the World War and the questions which have grown out of it is greatly facilitated by the establishment of the *Revue d'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale*, published quarterly since April, 1923, by the Société de l'Histoire de la Guerre (Paris, Coste). Camille Bloch is the director and Pierre Renouvin editor-in-chief of this admirable publication, which presents, besides special studies, documents, and book reviews, a very complete list of noteworthy articles drawn from some seventy European and American periodicals. Slighter in form, more limited in scope and less objective in tone, *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, published monthly since July, 1923, by the Zentralstelle für Erforschung der Kriegsursachen at Berlin, is never-

theless of value, not only for an understanding of the German viewpoint, but also for its bibliographies of current literature on the subject. The editor is Alfred von Wegerer.

An elaborate critical bibliography of French publications relating to the World War has been compiled by Jean Vic, librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and is to be completed in five volumes during the current year. It is entitled *La Littérature de la Guerre* (Paris, Presses Françaises).

A new history of the World War in one volume has appeared, under the direction of the great historian Aulard, with the collaboration of E. Bouvier and A. Ganem. This work, like M. Aulard's history of the French Revolution, concerns itself chiefly with French political developments rather than with military operations. It is called *Histoire Politique de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Quillet, 1924, pp. 600). Another work in the same field is A. Albert-Petit's *La France de la Guerre* (Paris, Bossard, 1924, 3 vols., pp. 488, 512, 610).

Professor Hermann Stegemann has written a *Geschichte des Krieges* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1923, 4 vols., pp. xvi, 444; xii, 503; xii, 544; xi, 708), highly praised in German reviews.

Commandant A. Laurens, who during the war headed the information service of the French submarine flotilla and who is now chief of the historical section of the navy, has given us, from the fullness of his special knowledge, a compact narrative of that factor in the World War, under the title *Le Blocus et la Guerre Sous-Marine* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1924, pp. vi, 215).

Mr. Ira N. Morris, of Chicago, United States minister to Sweden from 1914 to 1922, has published in Swedish a full account of his diplomatic experiences, impressions, and achievements during the war, under the title *Minnen* ("Memories"—Stockholm, Norstedt and Sons). The book will be presented in English to American readers at a later time.

To the eleven volumes of the military history of Australian action in the World War has now been added a volume of 753 reproductions of pictures taken by the Australian official photographers—*Photographic Records of the War* (Sydney, Angus and Robertson), annotated by C. E. W. Bean and H. S. Gullett, a collection of remarkable value toward the understanding of the volumes which it accompanies.

The devoted labors of French Catholic chaplains during the World War are set forth in a volume by Geoffroy de Grandmaison and François Veuillot, entitled *L'Aumônerie Militaire pendant la Guerre, 1914-1918* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1923, pp. xix, 333), based on extracts from correspondence and military citations.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. E. Barnes, *Assessing the Blame for the World War* (Current History, May); *Assessing the*

*Blame for the World War: a Symposium* (*ibid.*, June); Gen. Hermann von Kuhl, *Der Krieg der Versäumten Möglichkeiten* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); Gen. H. von Zwehl, *Die Verwendung der Deutschen Hochseeflotte im Weltkriege* (Deutsche Rundschau, March).

#### GREAT BRITAIN

The third edition of Scargill-Bird's *Guide to the Principal Classes of Documents preserved in the Public Record Office*, hitherto the chief *vade mecum* of those who resort to that repository, is now to be superseded by a new repertory, partly based on that work but with different arrangement, namely, an arrangement consisting in describing the records under the class-titles of the office rather than under a series of subject-headings. Vol. I., *A Guide to the Manuscripts Preserved in the Public Record Office*, by M. S. Giuseppi, an assistant keeper of the records, is devoted to legal records, of Chancery, Exchequer, King's Bench, and many other courts (H. M. Stationery Office, 1923, pp. xxiv, 412), and the full and careful index that serves instead of arrangement by subjects. Vol. II. will deal with the records of the State Paper Office and of public departments which have transferred their documents to the Public Record Office.

The Union Theological Seminary *Bulletin* of January contains an account of the McAlpin Collection of British History and Theology, from the pen of Charles R. Gillett, son of Dr. Ezra H. Gillett, who principally gathered the collection.

*Roman York: the Legionary Headquarters and Colonia of Eboracum* (London, Ernest Benn, pp. 200), by Gordon Home, describes the public life, religious customs, military organization, and social life of a large Roman city during several centuries, with 30 photographs, and many original drawings.

*Richard the Lion Heart*, by Miss Kate Norgate (Macmillan), may be regarded as a companion or preliminary to her *John Lackland* and her *Minority of Henry III.*, but is largely occupied with the history of the Third Crusade.

The British Society of Franciscan Studies has in preparation for publication this year a history of *The Grey Friars of Canterbury, 1224 to 1538*, by Mr. Charles Cotton—the occasion being the seven hundredth anniversary of their arrival in England.

The Cambridge University Press has nearly ready a *Calendar of the Early Rolls, 1298–1307*, of the mayor's court of the City of London, edited by A. H. Thomas.

The Cambridge University Press has in preparation, or has already issued, two new books by Dr. W. C. Bolland, *A Manual of Year Book Study*, and *Chief Justice Sir William Bereford*, of which the former is a contribution to the series of *Cambridge Studies in English Legal History*.

The annual Raleigh Lecture on History was given before the British Academy last November by Professor T. F. Tout of Manchester, and is now published as a pamphlet, *The Beginnings of a Modern Capital: London and Westminster in the Fourteenth Century* (London, Humphrey Milford).

The fourth and fifth volumes of Professor Holdsworth's *History of English Law*, lately published by Methuen, trace the development of public and private law during the Tudor period and the development of private law during that of the early Stuarts.

The Oxford University Press is about to publish *The Manorial Roll of the Isle of Man, 1511-1515*, the earliest extant manorial roll of the island, compiled during the reign of Thomas Stanley, second earl of Derby, translated from the Latin by the late Rev. Theophilus Talbot, with a preface by the present Speaker of the House of Keys.

The firm of Appleton has brought out a *Life of Anne Boleyn*, by Philip W. Sergeant. The book is characterized as a sympathetic portrait.

It is announced by the Council of the Royal Historical Society that its committee on a Bibliography of Modern English History hopes to have ready before the end of this year the volume on the seventeenth century, which is now being edited by Mr. Godfrey Davies under the supervision of Sir Charles Firth. It will be remembered that the volume for the sixteenth century is in the hands of the parallel committee of the American Historical Association of which Professor Cheyney is chairman.

*The Road-Books and Itineraries of Great Britain, 1570 to 1850* (Cambridge, University Press, 1924, pp. xv, 72), by Sir Herbert George Fordham, is a bibliographical catalogue of these bygone handbooks, useful to antiquarian and other students.

Vol. I. of the Historical Manuscripts Commission's *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, published in two parts (pp. 1025), is occupied with a calendar of the papers of Sir William Trumbull (1639-1716), ambassador under James II. and Secretary of State under William III. The texts and summaries cast much light on foreign affairs and Continental wars and a smaller amount on domestic history, with even a little on America. Three-fourths of the papers lie in the period from 1685 to 1698.

*The Harleian Miscellany*, edited by H. Savage (London, Cecil Palmer, pp. viii, 272), is a selection in one volume, from the great collection of tracts and pamphlets bearing that name, printed in the eighteenth century and reprinted in 1808. The volume will be useful for side-light on English history.

*English Society in the Eighteenth Century as Influenced from Oversea*, a doctoral dissertation by Jay B. Botsford, has just been issued by the Macmillans.

The third volume of the *Farington Diary* (London, Hutchinson) runs from September, 1804, to September, 1806, and furnishes the same sort of instruction and entertainment as its predecessors.

Mr. Robert S. Newdick (address, 568 North Fourth Street, Columbus, Ohio) would be glad to hear from anyone possessing manuscripts or letters by or respecting Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd (1795-1854).

It is understood that the first half of the *Life of King Edward VII.*, on which Sir Sidney Lee has for some time been engaged, will appear before the end of the present year.

The *Scottish Historical Review* has articles on the Scottish Officers of Charles XII., by Hon. George Sinclair, on the *Retrait Lignager* in Scotland, by David B. Smith, on the Cotton Industry and the Industrial Revolution in Scotland, by W. H. Marwick, and on the Opposition to the 8th and 9th Articles of the Commercial Treaty of Utrecht, by D. A. E. Harkness.

Professor James Mackinnon of Glasgow has just published, through Messrs. Longmans, a work on *The Constitutional History of Scotland from Early Times to the Reformation*.

Mr. J. D. Mackie, lecturer in modern history in the University of St. Andrews, and Mr. G. S. Pryde have prepared a careful study in Scottish constitutional history, *The Estate of the Burgesses in the Scots Parliament and its Relation to the Convention of Royal Burghs* (St. Andrews, W. C. Henderson, 1923, pp. 69), which illuminates the whole history of the third estate in the Scottish parliamentary system. To this Miss Anna J. Mill has added an inventory of the early manuscript records of the older royal burghs. A volume of considerable importance with respect to an allied subject is vol. I. of *Early Burgh Organization in Scotland, as Illustrated in the History of Glasgow and of Some Neighbouring Burghs*, by Dr. David Murray, lawyer in Glasgow (Glasgow, MacLehose).

British government publications: *Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard I. and John*, I., Richard I.-2 John; *Manuscripts of Lord Bathurst preserved at Cirencester Park* (Historical Manuscripts Commission).

Other documentary publications: *Calendar of the Pipe Rolls of the Reign of Richard I. for Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, 1189-1199*, ed. G. H. Fowler and M. W. Hughes (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society); *Calendar of the Early Mayors' Court Rolls of the City of London, 1298-1307*, ed. A. H. Thomas (Cambridge University Press); *Kerkeraadsprotocollen der Nederduitsche Vruchtelingenkerk te Londen, 1560-1563*, ed. A. A. van Schelven (Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht).



Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Gougaud, *Notes sur le Culte des Saints Bretons en Angleterre* (Annales de Bretagne, XXXV. 4); Auriant, *L'Angleterre et le Canal de Suez, 1854-1855* (Mercure de France, February 1); Hilda Johnstone, *A Year in the Life of Henry III. [1240-1241]* (Church Quarterly Review, no. 194); Gilbert Laws, *Andrew Fuller, 1754-1815* (Baptist Quarterly, April); N. J. Silberling, *Financial and Monetary Policy of Great Britain during the Napoleonic Wars*, II. (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); Emil Daniels, *Eine Neue Geschichte der Englischen Politik: the Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, vol. III. (Preussische Jahrbücher, February).

#### FRANCE

General review: Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Histoire de France; Fin du Moyen Age, 1328-1498* (Revue Historique, March).

Two recent decrees of the French government are of great importance to scholars having occasion to prosecute research in that country. The first decree unites the Bibliothèque Mazarine to the Bibliothèque Nationale as a single library and provides that the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève shall also be considered national libraries, the three having henceforth a unified administration. The second decree extends the hours during which these libraries are open to readers and provides that they shall be closed every year on the following schedule: the Bibliothèque Nationale (including the Mazarine) from August 16 to 31; the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève from September 1 to 15; the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal from September 16 to 30. The libraries of the University of Paris, of the Institute, the École Normale, etc., remain under other management and are not included in this decree.

The Archives Nationales proposes to compile a critical repertory of inventories of French archives prior to the end of the Old Régime, a project of great promise to scholars; it is often the case that, even though the archives have disappeared, inventories have been preserved containing sufficient detail to take the place, in a measure, of the lost documents.

Vol. I. of an *État Sommaire des Versements faits aux Archives Nationales par les Ministères et les Administrations qui en dépendent* (Paris, Picard, 1924, pp. cxii, 390) is preceded by a valuable historical introduction by M. Langlois, the director. Most of these ministerial archives are contained in the great series F; the present volume is an inventory of the contents of the first ten subdivisions of this series, made by the archivists in charge. The inventory should prove of very great service to scholars.

Paul Marichal and Léon Mirot have published the third fascicle of their edition of Auguste Longnon's researches on *Les Noms de Lieu de la France: leur Origine, leur Signification, leurs Transformations*

(Paris, Champion, 1923, pp. 339-446). This volume, based like its predecessors on the master's notes and lectures, contains place-names of ecclesiastical origin or religious derivation.

Dumont's announcements for 1924 include two works completed long since, but apparently just published: a *Description Générale des Monnaies Mérovingiennes* by A. de Belfort (1892-1895) from manuscript notes of the Vicomte Ponton d'Amécourt, issued in five large volumes; and a *Répertoire Historique et Biographique de la Gazette de France, depuis l'Origine jusqu'à la Révolution, 1631-1790*, by the Marquis de Granges de Surgères (1902-1906), published in four volumes.

The *Plaids de la Sergenterie de Mortemer, 1320-1321*, edited by R. Génestal (Caen, Jouan, 1924, pp. xxxii, 86) for the series of texts published by the Société d'Histoire du Droit Normand, is a roll of pleas before the viscount's court, the oldest document of this rare type in Normandy and perhaps in France.

In our last number it was stated that the new volume of the *Recueil des Instructions aux Ambassadeurs* bears the title *Hollande, 1698-1789*. We find however that the two volumes which have been issued respecting the French embassy in the Netherlands run respectively from 1648 to 1697 and from 1697 to 1730, and that a third volume will be necessary to complete the work.

Under the editorial care of M. Gustave Schelle, a collection in five volumes of the *Oeuvres de Turgot*, comprising also a biography, documents relating to him, and his correspondence, is before long to be published in Paris (Alcan). The first volume will contain early writings, the second and third those of the period of the intendency of Limoges, 1761-1774, the fourth and fifth those of the periods of service as minister and of retirement. Careful texts and much unpublished material are promised.

For the *Collection des Documents Inédits*, the well-known scholar, Camille Bloch, has edited the *Procès-Verbaux du Comité des Finances de l'Assemblée Constituante* (Rennes, Oberthur, 1922, 1923, pp. xlix, 316, 254). The first volume contains the record of the sessions from July 20, 1789, to July 28, 1790; the second carries it to the final meeting on September 29, 1791. It is not the editor's fault that the *procès-verbaux* appear disappointingly dry and brief, casting relatively little light on the great financial questions of the period.

*Jean Paul Marat: his Career before the Revolution*, by Sidney L. Phipson (London, Methuen), explores especially that period in Marat's life which was spent in England.

The late Frédéric Masson added to his well-known studies on the family of Bonaparte *Quatre Conférences sur Joséphine* (Paris, Delpeuch, 1924, pp. 160).

An excellent volume on the expedition of 1830, which laid the cornerstone of France's North African empire, is Gabriel Esquer's *Prise d'Alger* (Paris, Champion, 1923, pp. 477).

The memoirs of Alexandre Ribot, former premier of France, are published in the form of letters to a supposed friend, after the classic model: *Lettres à un Ami; Souvenirs de ma Vie Politique* (Paris, Bossard, 1924, pp. 360). They are very important for the year 1917.

Alexandre Zévaès's *Le Parti Socialiste de 1904 à 1923* (Paris, Rivière, 1923, pp. 204) is a sequel to the author's previous volume on the history of the French Socialist groups up to 1904.

The bibliography of works dealing with Lorraine, published by the *Annales de l'Est* annually from 1910 until the war, has been brought up to date by two volumes bearing the title, *Bibliographie Lorraine, 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1913-31 décembre 1919 et 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1920-31 décembre 1921; Revue du Mouvement Intellectuel, Artistique, et Économique de la Région* (Nancy, Berger-Levrault, 1921-1923).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Grand, *L'Histoire de la Coutume de Paris* (Journal des Savants, March); P. Guilhiermoz, *De la Taille du Denier dans le Haut Moyen Age* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, July-December, 1923); B. Faucher, *Les Registres de l'État Civil Protestant en France depuis le XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle jusqu'à nos Jours* (*ibid.*); Hans Rothfels, *Richelieus Militärisches Testament* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIX. 2); Émile Magne, *Quelques Pénitents de Port-Royal de Paris* (Revue de Paris, March 15); H. Sée, *La Doctrine Politique et Sociale de Mably* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, March); H. Martin, *Le Papier Monnaie sous la Révolution* (*ibid.*, January); R. Puaux, *Napoléon était-il d'Origine Grecque?* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, March); F. Charles-Roux, *Le But Colonial de l'Expédition Française en Égypte* (*ibid.*); Arthur Lévy, *Davout, Maréchal de l'Empire*, I., II. (Revue de Paris, March 15, April 1); Comte de Sérignan, *Le Général Malet et le Coup de Force du 23 Octobre, 1812, d'après des Documents Nouveaux*, I. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); E. d'Hauterive, *Correspondance Inédite de Napoléon III. et du Prince Napoléon*, IV., concl. (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1, 15).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

The Italian government has decided to publish a catalogue of all official Italian publications. The first number, *Indice Generale delle Pubblicazioni editate dallo Stato o col suo Concorso* (Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1923), groups the titles under two main divisions, administrative or parliamentary publications on the one hand, scientific publications on the other.

Signor Carlo Capasso, on the basis of long-continued investigations in Italian and foreign, especially Spanish, archives, develops in a forth-

coming volume *La Politica di Papa Paolo III.* (Rome, Giuseppe Principato).

Vols. XIII. and XIV. of the English translation of Dr. Ludwig von Pastor's *History of the Popes*, corresponding to vol. IX. of the *Geschichte der Päpste*, have been announced for publication during this past spring by the Broadway House, London.

Attilio Simioni, *Le Origini del Risorgimento dell'Italia Meridionale* (Rome, Giuseppe Principato), announced for immediate publication, is the fruit of long study and is expected to cast much new light on the revolution in the Kingdom of Naples and on its preceding history from 1799 to 1860.

Mgr. G. Pietro Sinopoli di Giunta's biography of *Il Cardinale Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro* (Rome, 1923) is considered to possess greater interest for the private life of Leo XIII.'s great secretary of state than for his career as diplomat and statesman.

A committee formed at the University of Rome has been given the task of publishing a collection of *Lettere e Scritti dei Caduti per la Patria*.

A lecture (Sidney Ball Memorial Lecture) on *The Historical Causes of the Present State of Affairs of Italy*, delivered before the University of Oxford last October by Mr. George M. Trevelyan, is published in London by Humphrey Milford (*Barnett House Papers* no. 8).

The second volume of the new collection of monographs issued by the Lazarist Fathers of the Collegio Alberoni bears the title *Il Processo del Cardinale Alberoni* (Piacenza, 1923, pp. 253). It is a study by A. Arata of the celebrated trial of Philip V.'s disgraced minister, based on documents in the Vatican archives.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Burdach, *Dante und das Problem der Renaissance* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, February); A. Norsa, *Il Fattore Economico nella Grandezza e nella Decadenza della Repubblica di Venezia*, I. (*Nuova Rivista Storica*, January); Ch. Benoist, *Le Gonfalonier Perpétuel Piero Soderini, 1502-1512* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1); G. Bonelli, *Carte Bresciane di Polizia Austriaca* (*Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento Italiano*, X.); P. Matter, *Cavour et la Guerre de Crimée* (*Revue Historique*, March); T. Tittoni, *Tunisia, Tripolitania, e Italia* (*Nuova Antologia*, April 1).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Professor Paul Kehr, director of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, announces progress in the enrichment of that great collection. It is expected now that volume XXX. of the *Scriptores*, folio series, will be completed despite difficulties. Work is likewise going forward on the quarto series and on the *nova series*, octavo, additions to which are promised for early publication. Dr. Kehr has assumed direction of the

section *Diplomata Karolinorum*; M. Krammer has superseded E. Perels as editor of the *Neues Archiv*. The series *Poetae Latini Aevi Karolini* is finished with the publication of tom. IV., pars II., III., by K. Strecker, containing the supplements. Other publications during 1923 are *Scriptores*, n. s., tom. II., *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. Bretscholz; tom. III., *Chronica Johannis Vitodurani*, ed. R. Brun, and *Epistolae*, tom. II., pars II., *Registrum Gregorii VII.*, ed. E. Caspar. The firm of Hiersemann at Leipzig is now publishing the folio series; the remaining sections, as well as the *Neues Archiv*, are issued by Weidmann of Berlin.

Vol. IV. of the *Jahresberichte der Deutschen Geschichte* (Breslau, Priebatsch, 1923, pp. 147), edited by V. Loewe and O. Lerche, contains a chronicle of the historical publications of the year 1921, composed after the manner of the section on German history in the now extinct *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, but on a reduced scale.

The publication of the second part of Friedrich Kauffmann's *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (Munich, Beck, 1923, pp. 710) was originally planned for 1915, the first part having appeared in the preceding year. This volume completes the work.

K. Schünemann's *Die Deutschen in Ungarn bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1923, pp. 153) is said to be an able piece of work, making use of recent Hungarian scholarship.

Vol. II. of Dr. Bruno Kuske's *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölner Handels und Verkehrs im Mittelalter* was published some years ago. Vols. I. and III. are now published (Bonn, Hanstein), and there are others to follow. They present texts (or in parts a calendar) of those documents in the Cologne archives which relate to the commercial activity of the city in the Middle Ages, and are full of instruction for all phases of the medieval merchant's life.

Joseph Sturm's *Joh. Christoph von Preysing; ein Kulturbild aus dem Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (Munich, Pfeiffer, 1923, pp. 391) is not only an able study of an important Bavarian diplomat, based on printed and manuscript sources; it is also a masterly account of social conditions during the period of which it treats.

What promises to prove a mine of source-material in its field is the two-volume collection of documents, *Politischer Katholizismus: Dokumente seiner Entwicklung* (Munich, Drei Masken Verlag, 1921-1923, pp. 314, 396), gathered together for the series *Der Deutsche Staatsgedanke* by Professor L. Bergsträsser, well known for his studies in the history of German political parties. Here is a carefully annotated selection of parliamentary speeches, petitions, pamphlets, electoral programmes, newspaper articles and the like, the first volume covering the period from 1814 to 1866, the second dealing with the Kulturkampf, the evolution of the Centre, and its history down to the late war.

Professor Viktor Bibl of Vienna has published the first volume of an extended historical work on *Der Zerfall Oesterreichs: Kaiser Franz und sein Erbe* (Vienna, Rikola). This first volume extends to the end of the reign of Francis II., 1835.

*Drei Jahre*, by Count Stephan Burian (Berlin, Ullstein), is a record by a typical official concerning the period when he was in charge of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, from January, 1915, to December, 1916, and from April to October, 1918.

*The Tragedy of Charles of Habsburg*, by Baron Charles von Werkmann (London, Philip Allan), translated from the German, runs from November, 1918, to the death of the emperor in 1922, and is by one who was a member of the emperor's staff while he was heir to the throne, chief of his press intelligence bureau while he was emperor, and his private secretary afterwards. The book is written with a large measure of impartiality, and has of course much personal interest.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Oncken, *Der Sinn der Deutschen Geschichte* (Deutsche Rundschau, February); W. Stach, *Lex Salica und Codex Euricianus* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXI. 4); F. Philippi, *Die Umwandlung der Verhältnisse Sachsens durch die Fränkische Eroberung* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIX. 2); E. L. James, *Prussia's Evasion of Reparations in 1812: a Historic Parallel* (Current History, June); O. Westphal, *Zur Beurteilung Hegels und Dahlmanns* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIX. 2); H. Herzfeld, *Staat und Persönlichkeit bei Heinrich von Treitschke* (Preussische Jahrbücher, December); H. Rogge, *Bismarcks Kolonialpolitik als Aussenpolitisches Problem*, II. (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXI. 4); P. Darmstädter, *Die Auswärtige Politik unter Wilhelm II.* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, April); A. O. Meyer, *Fürst Metternich* (*ibid.*, March).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The latest issue in the official Dutch series of *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien* (no. 54) is a first volume of *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van Middelburg in den Landsheerlijken Tijd* (pp. xxvii, 723), edited by W. S. Unger. A different sort of illustration of Dutch city life is to be found in the splendid folio, Jacob van Deventer, *Nederlandsche Steden in de 16e Eeuw* (the Hague, Nijhoff), embracing 111 facsimile reproductions of ground-plans of cities in the Northern Netherlands, made by the well-known cartographer Dr. Jacob van Deventer by order of Philip II. in 1558 and the following years.

In 1906 and 1908 Professor Felix Rachfahl, then of Königsberg, now of Freiburg i. Br., published the first two volumes of his *Wilhelm von Oranien und der Niederländische Aufstand*, a work most highly esteemed but long left unfinished, the second volume ending with the withdrawal of William from the Netherlands in 1567. It is now an-

nounced by Martinus Nijhoff of the Hague that he will in the present year publish the third volume, and soon thereafter the fourth and final volume.

The Linschoten-Vereeniging has brought out, as vol. XXI. of its *Werken*, the first part (of three) of *De Reis van Mahu en De Cordes door de Straat van Magalhães naar Zuid-Amerika en Japan, 1598-1600* (the Hague, Nijhoff, pp. xvi, 318, 22 plates, 3 maps), comprising ship's journal, reports, letters, and nautical notes, illustrative of the first Dutch voyage through the Straits and to Japan. The second and third volumes, the latter especially concerned with the visit to Japan, will soon follow.

Dr. J. E. Elias has separated from his stately work, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam* (1903), the introductory portion on the Amsterdam magistracy, revised it, and issued it as a separate volume, *Geschiedenis van het Amsterdamsche Regentenpatriciaat* (the Hague, Nijhoff, pp. viii, 281).

The severity of the Napoleonic censorship of books, press, and stage is exhibited by Ém. Roche's study, *La Censure en Hollande pendant la Domination Française, 9 Juillet 1810-16 Novembre 1813* (the Hague, Daamen; Paris, Asnette, 1923, pp. 265).

In commemoration of its hundredth anniversary, Nov. 10, 1923, the Dutch shipbuilding company called "Fijenoord" (from its location on an island of that name opposite Rotterdam) issues a handsomely and very curiously illustrated volume on the career of its founder, *Leven en Bedrijf van Gerhard Moritz Roentgen, Grondvester van de Nederlandsche Stoomboot-Maatschappij thans Maatschappij voor Scheeps- en Werktuigbouw "Fijenoord", 1823-1923* (Rotterdam, the Company, pp. xii, 168). Roentgen (1795-1852), of German origin, a man of great energy and organizing gifts, after service in the Dutch navy, early turned to the development of steam navigation, and then to the building of steamboats, now the company's sole function. The book is a valuable and interesting contribution to the history of modern Dutch business.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Vander Linden, *Les Templiers à Louvain* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, 1923, 11).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The latest publication of the Hakluyt Society is *The Life of the Icelandic Jón Olafson*, translated from the Icelandic edition of Sigfús Blöndal by Miss Bertha Phillpotts. The author, born in Iceland in 1593, travelled widely as soldier, marine, and sailor, and had much of the spirit of the writers of sagas. Vol. I., now published, is mainly concerned with Denmark and the Baltic lands; vol. II. will describe his voyage to India and travels there.



*The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity* (London, Murray), by Capt. Francis McCullagh, is the work of one who was present at the trial of the Catholic prelates and priests and had other opportunities of observation in the field covered by his volume.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Waldemar Westergaard, *The Study of History in Sweden* (American-Scandinavian Review, February); M. J. Wolff, *Die Ukrainische Bewegung* (Deutsche Rundschau, February); M. Gravina, *L'Impresa contro Petrogrado del 1919* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); G. T. Robinson, *The Russian Peasant as a Revolutionist* (Freeman, March 5).

#### SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

In October, 1923, the Hungarian government established at Rome a Hungarian Historical Institute, for the systematic study of the intellectual and political relations between Hungary and Italy and similar topics. Mgr. Wilhelm Fraknoi, distinguished patron of such studies, has given the institute a palace in the Piazza Girolamo Fabrizio, and an important library has been provided, and will be open to other students. The journal *Corvina* will hereafter be published in Rome, as the organ of the institute, which will also publish an annual and a series of transactions.

A new periodical deserving mention is the *Revue des Études Hongroises et Finno-Ougriennes*, edited, under the auspices of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, by Dr. Z. Baranyai and Professor A. Eckhardt of Budapest, and published in Paris by E. Champion. Its aim will be to present, in French, the results of recent investigations in the history and philology of Hungary, Finland, and Esthonia, with surveys also of progress in ethnology, archaeology, and other cultural subjects. The historical articles in the first issue (January-June, 1923) were noted in our January number.

*Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary*, by Oscar Jászi (London, P. S. King), is a history embracing the Radical revolution of October, 1918, the Communist revolution of March, 1919, and the White counter-revolution of August, 1919, upon which the present government rests, by one who was a prominent leader of the Radical group which combined with the Social Democrats to form the government under Károlyi.

A Rumanian scholar, Constantin Marinesco, has thrown new light on the career of Scanderbeg as an instrument in the ambitious Mediterranean schemes of Alfonso V. through a study entitled *Alphonse V., Roi d'Aragon et de Naples, et l'Albanie de Scanderbeg* (Bucharest and Paris, Gamber, 1923, pp. 183; *Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France*).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Cahen, *Les Mongols dans les Balkans* (Revue Historique, May); O. von Wertheimer, *Die Memoiren des Grafen Michael Károlyi* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March).

**ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN**

*A Thousand Years of the Tartars* (London, Broadway House), by E. H. Parker, professor of Chinese in the University of Manchester, is a revised edition of a work, based on original authorities and covering the period up to the arrival of Marco Polo, of which the first edition was published in Shanghai in 1895, but is now quite out of print.

Martinus Nijhoff, of the Hague, has published, in English, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* (pp. 375), by C. Wessels, S.J., mostly from manuscripts in archives of the Society of Jesus, setting forth the geographical results of such travels in Tibet and elsewhere, and including in an appendix five texts of narratives, Latin and Portuguese.

The Right Rev. Dr. Eyre Chatterton, bishop of Nagpur, has written, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published, *A History of the Church of England in India* (pp. xxiv, 346), running from the early days of the East India Company to the present time.

**AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN**

The French occupation has continued the publication of materials for the history of Morocco by issuing, under government auspices, the first of six volumes, which are planned to cover the most important native source for Moroccan history, the *Kitab El-Istiqqa*, translated by A. Graulle (Geuthner, 1923, pp. 302) under the title *Histoire du Maroc*.

The occupation and colonization of Madagascar are described by G. Grandidier in a volume entitled *Le Myre de Vilers, Duchesne, Gallieni: Quarante Années de l'Histoire de Madagascar, 1880-1920* (Paris, Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes, et Coloniales, 1924, pp. 252).

*Egypt and the Army*, by Lieut.-Col. P. G. Elgood (Oxford, University Press), is an account of the grievances of Egypt during the war, and of the strained relations between Great Britain and Egypt which resulted from the trials and difficulties of that period.

**AMERICA****GENERAL ITEMS**

For the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington Mr. W. G. Leland has nearly finished, before leaving Paris for the purpose mentioned on page 818, the manuscript of the first volume of his *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives and Libraries of Paris*. This first volume deals with manuscripts in libraries. Its completion will necessarily await the ending of his temporary engagement with the American Council of Learned Societies. The volume prepared by Mr. D. M. Matteson, *List of Manuscripts concerning American History preserved in European Libraries and noted in their Published Catalogues and Similar Printed Lists*, is now in

the printer's hands. The manuscript of volume III. of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, extending from the beginning of 1778 to the middle of 1779, is approaching completion. Mr. Gunnar J. Malmin has finished the researches in Scandinavian archives undertaken for the Institution by the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has in the press *A History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860*, by Dr. Percy W. Bidwell, of the office of the Tariff Commission, and Dr. John I. Falconer, of the Department of Agriculture. The volume constitutes a portion of the series of volumes on American Economic History which was projected by the late Colonel Carroll D. Wright as the work of the Department of Economics in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and which, since the abolition of that department, has been carried on under the general care of Professor Henry W. Farnam, of Yale University, and his Board of Research Associates in economic history. The volume will be of about the same size as Dr. Victor S. Clark's *History of Manufactures in the United States* for the same period and the *History of Transportation in the United States* by Dr. Balthasar H. Meyer and others.

The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress has acquired an important body of the papers of Henry Clay, about 2000 pieces, including letters from Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, William Henry Harrison, Webster, Marshall, Frank P. Blair, Nicholas Biddle, Lafayette, and many others; also about 400 drafts of despatches written while Clay was Secretary of State. This is presumed to be the principal body of Clay's papers now extant. Other recent acquisitions are: Robert Fulton's treatise "On Submarine Navigation and Attack" (71 pages); miscellaneous letters, reports, and telegrams on military operations (both Federal and Confederate) in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana (1861-1863); two letter-books of assistant quartermaster-general Hugh Hughes (1781-1782); ledger of Richard Harrison and Company of Virginia (1774); letters (43 in number, 1788-1792) from Samuel and John Smith of Baltimore to J. G. Wachmuth and to Dutilh and Wachmuth, merchants of Philadelphia, with two letter-books of that firm (1784-1789); and seven volumes of photographs of vocabularies, etc., of early Mexican Indian languages.

The Instituto Historico e Geographico of Brazil is preparing a general history of North and South America to consist of about thirty-eight topical chapters. A central executive committee at Rio de Janeiro is to organize a local executive committee in each country of America, and by joint action of the two an editor is, in each country, to be designated for each chapter, to prepare a monograph on that country's history as

respects the subject of that chapter. Scholars in the United States who may be disposed to co-operate in the undertaking are advised to communicate with the secretary of the American Historical Association, Professor Bassett, or with Dr. Justin H. Smith, from whom fuller information can be obtained.

Professor Henry M. Wriston of Wesleyan University gave the Albert Shaw Lectures in diplomatic history at the Johns Hopkins University in March, dealing with the employment of special agents in American diplomacy.

The late Dr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Department of State, planned a series of small monographs, each to be written by an authoritative writer, on the successive Secretaries of State. Since his decease the publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, has put the conduct of the series in the hands of Dr. James Brown Scott.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. xl, 472) a valuable volume of *Arbitration Treaties among the American Nations to the Close of the Year 1910*, edited by Dr. William R. Manning, of the Division of Latin-American Affairs in the Department of State. The texts make an impressive total, and the editing is done with careful scholarship, the annotations being especially attentive to matters of ratification and reservations.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at its annual meeting held in Worcester, in October, 1922, embraces an elaborate account of Joseph Blackburn, Portrait Painter, by Lawrence Park, and a Check-List of American Periodicals of the Eighteenth Century, by William Beer. Annexed is a continuation of Mr. Brigham's *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, completing Pennsylvania, in the alphabetical order of states. The society has taken a notable action in restoring to the library of Harvard University thirteen volumes which once were a part of that library and were sold as duplicates to Cotton Mather, but of which the originals they duplicate had been destroyed in the fire of 1764. At the semiannual meeting recently held, April, 1924, papers were read on the Founding of New Amsterdam in 1626, by Victor H. Paltsits, and on the question, Do we Learn from History?, by William MacDonald.

Horace H. Hagan is the author of a work bearing the title *Eight Great American Lawyers*. Those whose careers are studied in the volume are: Luther Martin, William Pinkney, William Wirt, Thomas Addis Emmet, S. S. Prentiss, Rufus Choate, Judah P. Benjamin, and William M. Evarts (Oklahoma City, Harlow Publishing Company).

The December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains the second of Rev. Felix Fellner's papers

on the Trials and Triumphs of Catholic Pioneers in Western Pennsylvania; an account, by Sister Mary Eulalia Herron, of the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati (1858-1921); and some notes by Father Francis Barnum, S.J., on the Development of the Early Jesuit Missions.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

At a recent meeting of the Academy of Inscriptions in Paris, M. Charles de La Roncière, keeper of the printed books in the Bibliothèque Nationale, announced an interesting discovery respecting a map in that library, hitherto classed as a Portuguese map of the sixteenth century. He showed that it was not Portuguese, but of Genoese origin, dating between 1488 and 1492, and he maintained, and showed evidence in support of his views, that it was prepared under the direction of Christopher Columbus, by his brother Bartholomew, and represents the geographical notions which were entertained by Columbus when he set out upon his voyage of discovery. A reduced facsimile of the map, with a statement by M. de La Roncière, appears in *L'Illustration* for April 12. A clearer and larger facsimile, in colors, is being published by Les Éditions Historiques, Paris.

*Colonial Women of Affairs*, by Elisabeth Anthony Dexter, published in June by the Houghton Mifflin Company, is a book of data in a mainly new and very interesting field, that of the life and achievements of business women in the colonies.

Mr. Émile Baensch has prepared, and publishes at Manitowoc, Wis., a little book on the episode of Ebenezer Richardson and Christopher Snider, Boston, 1770, under the title, *A Boston Boy the First Martyr to American Liberty*.

The Harvard University Press has published *The British in Boston: being the Diary of Lieutenant John Barker of the King's Own Regiment from November 15, 1774, to May 31, 1776*, with notes by Elizabeth E. Dana. Much of the diary was printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1877.

Somewhat tardily there has come to our knowledge a monograph by M. Francis P. Renaut on *La Politique de Propagande des Américains durant la Guerre d'Indépendance: Francis Dana à St.-Petersbourg* (Paris, Graouli, 1922, pp. 344).

*A History of the Public Domain of America*, by Samuel G. McLendon, has been published in Atlanta by Foote and Daires Company.

The Charles E. Lauriat Company has brought out a new edition of the memoirs of Captain Samuel Samuels, *From the Forecastle to the Cabin* (New York, 1887), with an introduction by Ralph D. Paine, chiefly touching the career of the packet ships and the personality of Captain Samuels.

*The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860: the Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution*, by Norman Ware, is no. 37 of the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx prize essays (Boston, Houghton Mifflin).

*The True Story of the "Virginia" and the "Monitor": the Account of an Eye-Witness*, by Dr. William Tindall, with an introduction by Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., which appeared in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* of January, 1923, has been issued separately by the Old Dominion Press, Richmond.

The University of North Carolina Press (Chapel Hill, N. C.) prints in an attractive booklet entitled *Robert E. Lee: an Interpretation* an address delivered at the university, January 19, 1909, by the late President Woodrow Wilson.

Two Macmillan volumes recently published treat, after careful study, two important episodes in the later portion of American history: *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*, by Professor Albert B. Moore of the University of Alabama, and *Anglo-American Relations during the Spanish-American War*, by Miss Bertha A. Reuter.

William Buckley of Staunton, Va., is the author of a *History of the Great Reunion of the North and South*, described as "an impartial non-political account of the beginning of reconciliation" (Staunton, the author).

James Witham, sometimes known as the "Cornfield Philosopher", has recorded in a small volume his part in the farm movement, to which he has given the title *Fifty Years on the Firing Line* (Chicago, the author).

The former students of Dr. Paul Monroe of Teachers College, Columbia University, have given expression to their appreciation of his services to the cause of education by the publication in his honor of a volume of collected essays to which is given the title *Twenty-five Years of American Education*. The volume is edited by Isaac L. Kandel.

A brilliant and suggestive survey of the history of the last twenty-five years in the United States is given by Professor F. J. Turner, of Harvard, in the *Founder's Day Addresses* lately published by Clark University.

Mrs. Woodrow Wilson has asked Professor William E. Dodd and Mr. Ray Stannard Baker to collect and edit for publication for the house of Harper and Brothers an edition of *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, to appear at an early date. The volumes will include all the more important papers, addresses, and articles published by Mr. Wilson from his college days to 1924.

*Woodrow Wilson: a Character Study*, by Robert E. Annin, is characterized as an effort to give a just estimate of Wilson's genius, character, and services (Dodd, Mead, and Company).

The firm of Bossard, Paris, has issued an edition of the political works of Woodrow Wilson in two volumes with historical and critical notes, under the title *Messages, Discours, Documents Diplomatiques relatifs à la Guerre Mondiale*; the editor is Désiré Roustan.

#### LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

The *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for the years 1921, 1922, and 1923 includes, besides proceedings proper, reports, etc., a number of historical papers and documents. In the former category is a study, by Miss Genieve Lamson, of Geographic Influences in the Early History of Vermont (a dissertation); an address by Henry S. Wardner on Windsor's Importance in Vermont's History prior to 1777; and one by Guy Hubbard, entitled Leadership of Early Windsor Industries in Mechanic Arts. The documents are: the Journal of the Vermont Constitutional Convention of 1793, and the Journal of Colonel Alexander Harvey of Scotland and Barnet, Vermont, 1774-1775. Harvey was the agent of a "Company of Adventurers", or "Company of Farmers", organized about 1773, and was sent to America to find a tract of land suitable for settlement.

The December-January issue of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society is marked chiefly by a paper on the Coureurs de Bois, by Professor W. B. Munro, and one on Voting with Beans and Corn, by Mr. Worthington C. Ford. In the February-April issue Professor T. C. Smith discusses the Garfield-Blaine tradition, showing from the Garfield Papers the independence that President Garfield displayed toward influence from his Secretary of State. Mr. Ford describes the discovery, in the Burney Collection in the British Museum, of a file of the Franklin brothers' *New England Courant* which not only supplements the deficiencies of the society's file, hitherto thought to be unique, but is furnished with the names of the contributors, written in Benjamin Franklin's own youthful hand—apparently his personal file.

The April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* includes a paper on the *Alabama-Kearsarge* Battle: a Study in Original Sources, by William M. Robinson, jr., and continuations of George G. Putnam's account of Salem Vessels and their Voyages, and of F. B. C. Bradley's papers on Blockade Running during the Civil War. Mr. Putnam's articles have now been collected into book form by the institute.

The *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* has in the April issue a paper by Lawrence C. Wroth entitled William Goddard and some of his Friends.



In a small volume entitled *Rochambeau and the French Troops in Providence in 1780-81-82* (reprinted, with additions, from the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*) Mr. Howard W. Preston traces the footsteps of Rochambeau and his officers in the town of Providence and identifies "the few remaining houses that sheltered them during their stay". Mr. Preston draws upon the diaries and recollections of French officers, as well as upon the records of the town of Providence and the state. A bibliography of French accounts of the sojourn is appended.

The Yale University Press has published the address of Professor Charles M. Andrews delivered before the Connecticut Society of Colonial Wars in May of last year on *Connecticut's Place in Colonial History*.

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The New York State Historical Association, of which Dr. Frank H. Severance of Buffalo is president, will hold its annual meeting during the first three days of October at Buffalo, with excursions to Fort Niagara and other historic points on the Niagara frontier. The association now has a membership of more than a thousand. The January number of the association's *Quarterly Journal* contains an account of the meeting of the association at Lake Placid in October; a paper on Gerrit Smith, by E. P. Tanner; and one on Discoveries of the Jesuits in New York State, by Nellis M. Crouse.

The April number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* includes an article by A. J. Wall on Cadwallader Colden and his Homestead at Spring Hill, Flushing, Long Island.

The Dutchess County Historical Society has brought out (*Collections*, vol. I.) a monograph by Helen W. Reynolds entitled *Poughkeepsie: the Origin and Meaning of the Word* (pp. 93). Miss Reynolds offers in this study a refutation of the traditional interpretation of Apokeepsing (of variant forms) as "safe harbor" (an interpretation which dates only to 1798), and identifies it as an attempt to reproduce the Indian designation of the place which the Dutch called "Rust Plaets" (Resting Place), a conclusion reached upon the basis of an exhaustive examination of early land records. In addition to the thesis, which embodies numerous extracts from the records, the volume includes some fourteen pages of supplementary material and notes, a bibliography for the word Poughkeepsie, a glossary of Indian, Dutch, and English terms as used in eighteenth-century Poughkeepsie, and a calendar of sundry land papers for the town. There are also maps, plans, and other illustrations.

An interesting feature of the annual report of the Buffalo Historical Society is the devotion of some forty pages to a day-by-day record of events happening in or relating to Buffalo during the course of the year 1923.

Included in the April number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society are the following articles: Governor William Livingston as Apprentice, Writer, and Executive, by Louis H. Patterson; Early Transportation in and about New Jersey, by Cornelius C. Vermeule; Morven, the Princeton Home of the Stockton Family, by C. H. Hunter; the Stamp Act and New Jersey's Opposition to it, by James C. Connolly; and Mahlon Stacy, Quaker Founder of Trenton, by Elizabeth B. Satterthwaite.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired 8 letters of Samuel Breck, 8 of George M. Dallas, 43 of Gov. George Wolf to Roberts Vaux, on Pennsylvania politics, 81 political letters from Samuel J. Randall to the same, and 26 letters of Judge Richard Peters to Vaux, relating to the Agricultural Society, 1813-1826. The Gratz Collection has increased until it now numbers some 58,000 items.

The April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains two articles by Justice William R. Riddell, of Ontario, the one entitled Benjamin Franklin and Canada and relating to Franklin's influence in having Canada become a part of the British Empire, the other entitled Benjamin Franklin's Mission to Canada and the Causes of its Failure. The papers of Asa E. Martin and C. P. B. Jefferys, on Lotteries in Pennsylvania prior to 1833, and the Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, respectively, are continued.

Among the recent *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society are a History of Cattle and Stock Yards in Lancaster County prior to 1800, by J. A. Frantz, and a sketch of Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, 1766-1815, by Edgar F. Smith.

The April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains an article, by Mrs. S. Kussart, on Colonel George Woods, Pittsburgh's First Surveyor; one by Rufus B. Stone on Brodhead's Raid on the Senecas; and a continuation of Professor Alfred P. James's studies of the First Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1881.

Theodore C. Knauff of Philadelphia (Broad and Master streets) is the author and publisher of *A History of the Society of the Sons of St. George*, a society established at Philadelphia on St. George's Day, April 23, 1772, for the advice and assistance of Englishmen in distress.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an article by H. J. Berkley on Colonial Ruins, Colonial Architecture, and Brickwork of the Chesapeake Bay Section; one by Charles L. Lewis presenting evidence to show that it was Daniel Frazier instead of Reuben James who saved Decatur's life in the action off Tripoli, Aug. 3, 1804;

the second of Aaron Baroway's papers on the Cohens of Maryland; and other continuations.

The Virginia State Library has just issued a volume entitled *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676*, with notes and excerpts from the records extending into 1683, the originals of which are now lost. Under the law of 1918 the earlier records of the court of Northumberland County, 21 volumes, extending from 1650 to 1752, have been deposited in the State Library.

The articles in the April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are chiefly continuations. In connection with the installment of the Virginia Council Journals (1727) there is a valuable and extensive body of editorial notes, biographical, genealogical, and historical; and in the department of Notes and Queries are found a discussion of the Virginia use of the term "manor", a letter from Sir William Berkeley to Lord Danby (Feb. 1, 1674/5), Lord Culpeper's surrender of the Arlington-Culpeper grant of all Virginia (May 27, 1684), and other documents.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains an article by Fairfax Harrison on the Colonial Post Office in Virginia, and one by H. J. Berkley on the Port of Dumfries.

The contents of the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* include an editorial discussion of some phases of Lincoln Diplomacy; a group of letters from William C. Rives to Thomas W. Gilmer, 1823-1829 (to be continued); some notes from the records of Hardy and Hampshire counties, West Virginia; and a continuation of those of York County, Virginia.

The April number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* contains an article by A. B. Andrews on Richard Dobbs Spaight, one by Miss Adelaide L. Fries on the Lure of Historical Research, a history of the North Carolina Fuel Administration (chiefly documentary), and a continuation of the War Diary of Col. Joseph H. Pratt.

The issue of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* bearing the date January-April, 1923, contains a series of letters (1785) from Henry Laurens to William Bell, a merchant of Philadelphia; an article by D. E. Huger Smith entitled Nisbett of Dean and Dean Hall; and William Hort's journal of births, baptisms, marriages, deaths, etc., contributed by Miss Mabel L. Webber.

The *Transactions* of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, no. 28 (1923), includes the presidential address of Thomas W. Bacot, delivered in April of last year and pertaining principally to the subject of acquiring and marking the sites of old Huguenot church buildings; an address by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler on the Huguenots of Virginia; some letters (1759) from Rev. Barthelemi H. Mimeli, pastor of the Huguenot church in

Charleston, to Deacon Imer of Neuveville, Switzerland; and a group of wills (1734, 1736) of South Carolina Huguenots.

Professor Percy S. Flippin contributes to the March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* a study of the Royal Government in Georgia, 1752-1776; Thomas R. Hay one on Davis, Bragg, and Johnston in the Atlanta Campaign; and Lester Hargrett one on Student Life in the University of Georgia in the 1840's. Mr. Hay's paper is essentially an examination of those parts of Eckenrode's *Jefferson Davis* which relate to the Atlanta campaign, and Mr. Hargrett's article is a part of a study of Henry Timrod.

The contents of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for April, 1923 (published in January, 1924), include a number of letters (1842-1843, with one note of 1838) from Andrew Jackson to James W. Breedlove of New Orleans, with an introduction by John S. Kendall; the Visit of the Illinois Indians to France in 1725, by William Beer; a Contemporary English View of the Trade and Prospects of New Orleans at the Close of the French Dominion, being an extract from "Observations on West Florida", by Jacob Blackwell, about 1766 (Shelburne Papers); part II. of Frank L. Richardson's narrative, "War as I saw it, 1861-1865"; the Natchez Trace, by R. S. Cotterill (reprinted from the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*); New Orleans in 1867, by Giulio Adamoli (reprinted from the *Living Age*); and continuations of the Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, and the Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana.

#### WESTERN STATES

The seventeenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association occurred at Louisville in the first three days of May. The sessions were devoted to papers in Civil War history, in the earlier history of American settlement in the Mississippi Valley, in the political history of the "middle period", and in agricultural history, and to discussions of history teaching.

The March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains Dr. Joseph Schafer's article on Francis Parkman, which, as mentioned in the preceding number, has also appeared in the corresponding issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*; an article by Louis M. Hacker, on Western Land Hunger and the War of 1812; one by R. S. Cotterill on Southern Railroads, 1850-1860; and one by Hallie Farmer on the Economic Background of Frontier Populism; and, in the section of Notes and Documents, James Mackay's Table of Distances along the Missouri from its Mouth to the White River, with an introduction and notes by Mrs. Annie H. Abel-Henderson.

*Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848* (vol. XVIII. of the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, and vol. I. of a projected *Statistical Series*, pp. lxx, 598), edited, with an introduction and notes, by

Theodore C. Pease, is a fairly complete presentation of statistics of elections in the state (including the several votes on calling constitutional conventions and that on the constitution of 1848, but excluding elections for county and local offices) during the thirty years covered by the volume; that is, under the constitution of 1818. The facts have been gathered mainly from the original returns, supplemented somewhat from other sources, and conveniently tabulated. The editor has, furthermore, endeavored to indicate, so far as practicable, the politics of a candidate, and has searched the newspaper files of the period for helpful information on the subject; but at best, in a period of uncertain parties and shifting affiliations, the problem is a difficult one. The volume is not, however, all statistics. In a "Special Introduction" of more than fifty pages the author presents an excellent survey of Illinois politics during the period.

It is understood that the first volume of the remarkable Diary of Senator Orville H. Browning, edited by Professors J. G. Randall and T. C. Pease, of the University of Illinois, is to appear early in 1925 in the *Illinois Historical Collections*. An account of the diary, with quotations, is given in a lecture delivered before the Chicago Historical Society by Mr. Pease and printed by the University of Illinois Press, *The Diary of Orville H. Browning* (pp. 36). It is made plain that we shall have in the diary a very important source for, especially, the period of Lincoln's presidency and that of Johnson. As a specimen, Browning's account of the Republican senatorial caucus and the Cabinet crisis of 1862 is given in an appendix.

The January number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* contains a biographical account of Rev. Dennis Ryan (1786-1852), from the pen of Rev. John E. Kealy; an address on Father De Smet, by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J.; and the concluding installment of Joseph J. Thompson's paper on the Cahokia Mission Property.

The Library of Knox College has lately received from Edward Caldwell of New York City a valuable collection of about a thousand volumes and pamphlets relating to the discovery, exploration, and settlement of the Mississippi Valley, more especially the region of the Old Northwest.

The January number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* contains an article by O. M. Mather concerning the Explorers and Early Settlers south of Muldraugh Hill; some account, by George W. and Helen P. Beattie, of Capt. James Wright, a Kentucky pioneer; an index, by J. T. Cannon, to a volume of military certificates, principally of the year 1787, in possession of the society; and the marriage records of Bourbon County, 1786-1800, contributed by Susan M. Ball-Alexander.

Dr. Milo M. Quaife has been appointed custodian of the Burton Historical Collection, now a part of the Detroit Public Library. He has

also been made managing editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. All communications relating to editorial matters, books for review, magazines for notice, etc., are to be sent to him at the Detroit Public Library.

The materials in the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* of January relate principally to the King's Shipyard of Detroit; the March number contains an account, by M. M. Quaife, of the "Old Brigg" *Adams*, supplemented by documents; and the May number is a paper by Dr. Quaife entitled the Royal Navy of the Upper Lakes.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently issued vol. I., *Town Studies*, of the *Wisconsin Domesday Book*. A second volume, to comprise all towns in four contiguous lake shore counties, is in course of preparation. The *Calendar of Kentucky Papers*, noticed in a former number of this journal, will be issued in a few weeks. Following the publication of the Kentucky volume it is hoped to calendar the Tennessee papers of the Draper Manuscript Collection. In order to further this work the advisory committee of the society has created, out of the income of the Draper Fund, the Lyman C. Draper Graduate Fellowship in Western History, of \$500 per annum, the incumbent to give approximately three hours per day to the work of preparing a calendar, with historical introduction, and have the remaining time for graduate historical study in the University of Wisconsin. No appointment to the fellowship had been made up to May 14. Miss Kellogg's *Early Wisconsin*, which covers, in a detailed manner, the French history of Wisconsin and the Great Lakes region, is nearly ready for the press and will be published by the society during the autumn.

The May number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* has an article by John P. Pritchett entitled Some Red River Fur-Trade Activities. There is an account of the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in January of this year, and also some account of the society's activities and accessions. The most considerable accession has been a group of Civil War letters (about 150) from John N. Henry of the 49th New York Volunteer Infantry to his wife. The calendaring of the papers of the American Fur Company progresses, and the work of calendaring materials from the Indian Office in Washington relating to Minnesota is about to begin, the latter to be made from calendars and photostats in possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The second of the four volumes of Dr. William W. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*, lately published, takes up the story at the admission of Minnesota to the Union and carries it through the events of the Sioux War and the Civil War, to 1865.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has recently distributed *A History of the Sixth Iowa Infantry* (pp. 540) by Henry H. Wright, who was a member of the regiment during its service in the Civil War;

it contains a detailed account of the marches, camps, and battles of the regiment from the viewpoint of the private in the ranks. The society has also published the seventh volume of the *Iowa Chronicles of the World War*, namely, *The Sale of War Bonds in Iowa*, by Nathaniel R. Whitney. The society has distributed \$1070 in prizes to twenty-six high-school pupils of the state, winners in the essay contest in local community history conducted during the past school year. In the contest, described in a previous number of this journal, there were 1500 participants; the essays submitted have been sent to Iowa City for preservation in the files of the society.

The April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a study, by Carl H. Erbe, of the Constitutional Provisions for the Suffrage in Iowa, and the second of J. A. Swisher's papers on the Location of County Seats in Iowa.

The issue of the *Annals of Iowa* for July, 1923, has for its principal content an article on Iowa Political Conventions and Platforms, by David C. Mott.

Bruce E. Mahan contributes to the March number of the *Palimpsest* a sketch of Judge Joseph Williams, one of the first judges of the Territory of Iowa; Ben Hur Wilson writes for the April number a history of the Des Moines Rapids Canal; and O. F. Grahame gives in the May number some account of Stagecoach Days.

The contents of the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* include an article by Thomas S. Barclay on the Test Oath for the Clergy in Missouri, one by Professor David Y. Thomas on Missouri in the Confederacy, a sketch of Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, by Grace G. Avery, and the fifth of the articles by Walter B. Stevens on the New Journalism in Missouri.

The April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains, in addition to series hitherto mentioned, an article by Professor Charles W. Ramsdell on the Texas State Military Board, 1862-1865.

The Texas State Library has followed up its *Calendar of the Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* by an edition of his papers, of which two volumes have already been published and the third is now in the hands of the printer. After the completion of this work it is planned to publish the inedited journals of the congress and legislature of the Republic of Texas.

Articles in the March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* are: Some Aspects of the Sante Fe Trail, by Ralph P. Bieber; the Military Reminiscences of Captain Richard T. Jacob (1849-1923), principally relating to frontier army life in Oklahoma; the Three Forks of the Arkansas, by Grant Foreman; the reminiscences of a Pioneer Railroad Agent, by Arthur W. Dunham; and the Courts of the Cherokee Nation, by W. P. Thompson.



The March number of the *Colorado Magazine* includes an article by A. J. Flynn entitled Two Americans (Abraham Lincoln and Kit Carson, born in Kentucky in the same year); and continuations of the archaeological study of Messrs. Jeancon and Roberts and the article by Thomas F. Dawson on the Old Time Prospector.

*Vigilante Days at Virginia City* (Portland, Oregon, Fred Lockley) is a pamphlet of reminiscences of Colonel Henry Ernst Dosch, a German-American soldier in our Civil War and a pioneer in Nevada and Oregon, whose story, taken down by Mr. Lockley, is of much interest.

The April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains two articles on the Grand Coulee of Washington, a geological account by Henry Landes and an historical one by Professor Edmond S. Meany. Other articles are: Atanum Valley Fifty-four Years ago, by A. J. Thompson, and the Benjamin P. Cheney Academy, by J. O. Oliphant.

#### CANADA

The second annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held at Quebec on May 23 and 24. The occasion was the celebration of the centenary of the founding of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, the oldest learned society of Canada. The Royal Society of Canada and the Canadian Authors Association held their annual meetings at Quebec during the same week; exhibitions of historical material were maintained by the Public Archives of Canada and the Quebec society, and there were excursions to places of historical interest in the environs of Quebec. Among the addresses and papers were one on Montcalm, by Ægidius Fauteux, librarian of St. Sulpice, Montreal, three papers relating to Arnold's expedition, by P. Angers, of Beauceville, and one on the End of Alexander Mackenzie's Trip to the Pacific, by Harlan I. Smith, of Ottawa. The presidential address of Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee outlined the activities of the association during the past year, and the treasurer's report indicated that it is in a flourishing financial condition. Mr. Burpee was re-elected president, and Dr. Arthur G. Doughty was elected vice-president.

The Public Archives of Canada have received considerable accessions to the Durham papers received in 1912, relating to the political disturbances of 1837 in Canada. A calendar embracing both masses will be found in the *Archives Report* for 1923, now in the final stages of page-proof. The French material has been increased by six added volumes from the Phillips Collection, of letters of Montcalm, Vaudreuil, Lévis, and Bourlamaque, mainly for 1755-1760. These are also calendared in the new report. Copies are being made at Dalhousie Castle in Scotland of the papers of the ninth Earl of Dalhousie, governor-general of Canada from 1819 to 1828. Considerable portions of these transcripts have already arrived.

The third session of the Queen's University Summer School for Historical Research, conducted at Ottawa, in the Public Archives of Canada, opened on June 18. In the absence from Canada of Professor McArthur the school is under the direction of Professor A. L. Burt of the University of Alberta, the method being that of individual guidance of students and discussion with them.

The *Canadian Historical Review* for March has papers on the Bibliography of Canadiana, by Professor W. S. Wallace, on the Occupation of York (Toronto) in 1813 by the American Troops, by W. B. Kerr, on Sir James Stephen and British North American Problems, 1840-1847, by Professor Paul Knaplund, and on the Union Bill of 1822, by which it was proposed to unite Upper and Lower Canada, by K. L. P. Martin.

*Builders of the Canadian Commonwealth*, by Dr. George H. Locke, is a collection of representative speeches, with biographical appreciations, of thirty-three Canadian statesmen, from Louis J. Papineau to Newton W. Rowell. A. H. U. Colquhoun furnishes an introduction.

Judge A. B. Warburton of Charlottetown supplies a considerable gap in Canadian history by his excellent *History of Prince Edward Island* (St. John, N. B., Barnes and Company, 1923, pp. 494). His narrative ends, however, with 1831.

#### AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The firm of Heath has brought out an elementary *History of Latin America*, by Hutton Webster.

A year ago we mentioned as forthcoming, in the series *Biblioteca Argentina de Libros Raros Americanos*, published by the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of Buenos Aires, the *Leyes y Ordenanzas nuevamente hechas por Su Magestad para la Governacion de las Indias y Buen Tratamiento y Conservacion de los Indios* (Valladolid, 1503). It has now been received. The facsimile of the text amounts to 28 pages, and is preceded by a useful sketch of the history of the system of *encomiendas*, and of the slavery of Indians, from 1501 to 1516, by Señor Diego Luis Molinari.

Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, director of the Archives of the Indies at Seville, published in 1912 a calendar in six volumes of papers in that archive relating to the struggles of the Spanish colonists in America to secure their independence, *Independencia de América: Fuentes para su Estudio*. He has now begun the issue (Seville, Centro Oficial de Estudios Americanistas) of a second series, under the same title, supplementary to that valuable repertory. The first volume (pp. 254) calendars nearly 900 documents, mostly of the period 1810-1815, but with some earlier pieces. The material is reprinted from the Centro's *Boletín*.

The Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published, in a pamphlet of 35 pages, a useful dated list of *Personas que han tenido á su Cargo la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores desde 1821 hasta 1924*.

In the *Revue d'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, 1924, 1, M. Albert Dépréaux gives an interesting account of the military and political activities in St. Domingo, 1789-1792, of Baudry des Lozières, author of the two books of travel, *Voyage à la Louisiane* (1802) and *Second Voyage à la Louisiane* (1803). M. Paul Roussier, archivist of the Ministry of the Colonies, gives an account of the brief administration of the French Windward Islands in 1717 by the Marquis de la Varenne and the Chevalier de Ricouart as governor and intendant, followed by the full text of Ricouart's instructions, which may be profitably compared with contemporary instructions to English governors of the time.

Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham has followed his other volumes on the Conquistadores by an interesting volume on *The Conquest of the River Plate* (London, Heinemann).

The Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas connected with the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at Buenos Aires inaugurates a *Colección de Viajeros y Memorias Geográficas* by publishing, in the first volume of that series, translations into Spanish, accompanied by the English text and reproductions of the original illustrations, of *Memoirs of the Maritime Affairs of Great-Britain* by Governor John Pullen of Bermuda, with Capt. Lewis Paine's *Short View of Spanish America*, published together in 1732, and of E. E. Vidal's *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video* (London, 1820); the 24 curious views in the latter are reproduced.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. D. Eliot, *The Relations between Adam Smith and Benjamin Franklin before 1776* (Political Science Quarterly, March); W. O. Hart, *The Story of the American Flag* (American Law Review, March-April); A. Dujarric-Descombes, *Une Loge Française aux États-Unis* [Philadelphia, 1792-1802, refugees from St. Domingo] (Revue des Études Historiques, October-December); S. F. Bemis, *The United States and Lafayette, I.* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, June); C. W. Pierson, *The Federalist in the Supreme Court* (Yale Law Journal, May); Capt. Elbridge Colby, *The Occupation of Michigan: an Incident in the History of Military Government* (Michigan Law Review, April); S. E. Morison, *The Origin of the Monroe Doctrine* (Economica, February); C. L. Chandler, *United States Commerce with Latin America at the Promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); W. R. Shepherd, *The Monroe Doctrine Reconsidered* (Political Science Quarterly, March); E. M. Carroll, *Politics during the Administration of John Quincy Adams* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); W. G. Leland, *Francis Parkman, 1823-1923, and the History of New France* (Ext Libris [organ of the American Library in Paris], February); Bliss

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